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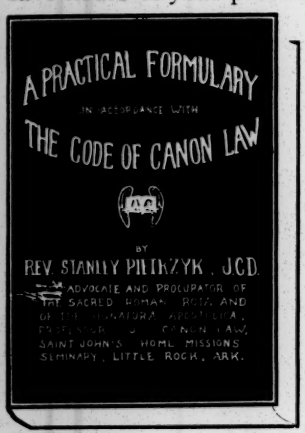
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## SOME STREET SHRINES OF ROME

As the Holy Year pilgrim wends his way through the streets of Rome he will be continually impressed by the great number of sacred images erected for popular veneration on the walls of public and private buildings, at corners and crossings as well as under archways.

Most of these street shrines—they number hundreds—pay Roman homage to the Blessed Mother of God and are known by the Roman people as the *madonnelle*. They bear eloquent, enduring witness to the love of the Queen City of Christendom for the Queen of all the saints.

The piety of Rome has found this typical expression from earliest Christian antiquity, and the perennial vitality of the tradition is revealed by the manner in which each succeeding century has replaced with its own characteristic shrines the monuments of the epoch before. In the process of rebuilding by which the face of Rome is continually renewed all but a precious few of the oldest shrines have disappeared. Some still survive from the fifteenth century, but most of the shrines which grace the streets of Rome today belong to sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries.

Variations in style and artistic merit are many and sharp, but all the street shrines,—the rude, colorful and naive *madonnelle* of the back streets or the poor quarters and the resplendent baroque Madonnas, Roman in their elegance and impressive in their quality—all have one purpose: the praise of Mary, *Regina Romanorum.*

The appeal to piety of some of these outdoor chapels is truly powerful. Often surrounded by many an *ex-voto* and fragrant with flowers freshly placed before them, they serve as oases of holy calm in the midst of the turbulence of everyday life. A comforting light frequently shines from them, and the passerby, lifting his eyes to images discolored by time and elements, feels his mind and heart lifted for a moment above human affairs; his worries of the hour are quieted by these omnipresent mementos of heaven and of things eternal.

Several of the most ancient street images became so greatly venerated among the people for the marvels associated with them

that they were removed to nearby churches for more worthy enshrinement and more regular cult.

Beneath one of the arches of the famous Theatre of Pompey, opposite the archway of the Cenci, there used to be a fourteenth century image of the Mother and Child painted by an unknown artist. On January 10, 1546, two men came to blows before it. One was about to strike his opponent with a lethal weapon when the other cried out, "For love of Our Lady, don't kill me!" At these words the assailant checked himself and letting his weapon fall, embraced his intended victim. The latter, thus mercifully spared, straightway fell on his erstwhile adversary and savagely murdered him. At this horrifying scene tears rushed from the eyes of the Madonna. The extraordinary event brought together citizens from every part of Rome, and so great was the reverence thenceforth shown the image that it was necessary to remove it from the wall and place it over the main altar of a chapel dedicated to *S. Salvatore in Cacabariis* where it was splendidly adorned by a Florentine nobleman, Nicola Acciajuoli. The miracles worked there by God, through the intercession of His Holy Mother, increased both faith and fervor and the chapel in time was built into a church completed in 1612 under the patronage of *S. Maria del Pianto.* The image was crowned by the Vatican Chapter, May 20, 1643.

The *Madonna della Lettera,* painted in 1654 by Nicolo Pomarancio in a recess of the wall at the foot of the stairs leading to St. Peter in Montorio, was credited with the instant cure of a nun dying in the nearby Monastery of the Seven Sorrows. The sister had been anointed with oil from a lamp burning before the sacred image. Because of the immense popularity of the shrine Clement XI had the image removed from the wall on August 9, 1714 and transported with great solemnity into the church of St. Peter in Montorio, where it is still venerated. In recognition of the miracles associated with it, the image was crowned by the Vatican Chapter in 1717.

A blind man finding himself on the ground floor of a humble house near the church of *S. Salvatore della Corte* in Trastevere, suddenly heard the noise of falling stones. Seized with fear that he might be buried under what he thought was the ruins of the roof, he turned quickly to flee, but was amazed to find himself able to

see. The first object of his restored vision was an image of Mary with the Child, surrounded by an extraordinary splendour. With cries of "Light! light!" the poor man invited everyone in the neighborhood to admire the sacred image which had been laid bare by the collapse of an old wall and which, he swore, gave sight to him. The news of the wonder spread throughout the City. The first to rush to the scene were the blind and the crippled, begging to be healed of their infirmities. The flow of people into the humble place so increased that the Cardinal Vicar, by a decree on August 8, 1730, ordered the image removed to the church of *S. Salvatore della Corte*. The church became commonly called *S. Maria della Luce* from that day.

The *Madonna di Strada Cupa* was so called because it had been painted on the wall of a vineyard in a dark street of Trastevere. The news of the graces constantly received by the devotees of this shrine soon passed the limits of the section and spread throughout the city. People came from every side in pilgrimage of prayer and praise so that Urban VIII, after careful examination of the miracles, ordered the picture detached from the wall and transported into the Basilica of *S. Maria in Trastevere*. The removal took place during the night of June 27, 1624, and the holy image, covered by a cloth, was temporarily placed in the cemetery adjoining the Basilica until the end of the process required to authenticate two of the most impressive miracles: the restoration to life of a certain Giuseppe Sperandini and the instantaneous cure of a blind child. On the following July 21, at the completion of the process, the image was uncovered in the Basilica for the veneration of the rejoicing people. This image, too, was crowned by the Vatican Chapter, April 5, 1634.

The *Madonna delle Grazie,* in the church of the Most Holy Trinity of the Pilgrims, is a fresco that was first on the wall of the Capranica palace in Via della Valle. Because of the constant gatherings of the devout, church authorities decided to remove it from the public thoroughfare and place it in a more convenient location. The Archconfraternity of Pilgrims asked to have responsibility for its care, and with the consent of the owners of the palace, it was taken into their church on July 9, 1562. After many cures had been attributed to the shrine, the Vatican Chapter crowned it on June 21, 1654.

The *Madonna degli Angeli,* which had been painted on the wall of a street in Campo Marzio, had to be removed from the public highway because of the great numbers attracted by news of miracles. In order to solve the problem created for coachmen who wished to guide their carriages through the busy thoroughfare, the Association of Coachmen proposed to have the image moved into a church and in 1545, with the permission of Paul III, they carried the miraculous image in solemn procession to the church of *S. Lucia della Tinta,* where the Association customarily met. There is a strong suggesion of precipitate action by the coachmen in the account of the transfer. A skilled mason detached the shrine from the wall. Brocades of silver and gold, torches, and whatever else was necessary for a splendid procession were prepared. Mortar and the needed implements were ready in front of the church of St. Lucy; the members of the Association in full regalia and the porters in prescribed frock were ready to put their shoulders to the sacred burden. But when they bent to their task, the image became immovable. Efforts were repeated to no avail. Those who were wise quickly understood and the chronicle tells us that a tardy invitation was straightway sent to the local clergy to join the procession! Then with the greatest ease the Madonna was carried to its place amidst a harmony of instruments and the glad cries of the people.

The *Madonna della Misericordia* in the church of St. John de' Fiorentini was at one time a fresco in a small street called *delle Palle,* near the church. As its name would indicate, it was a place where youngsters played ball. One day an impious contestant, in a rage at losing a game, turned on the sacred image and struck it with his ball, leaving a livid mark on the cheek under the right eye. Even today one may perceive the traces of the alleged blow. The crime had been public and so, the tradition asserts, publicly and instantly the criminal was punished by the paralysis of his arm. Contrite and tearful, the wretched man asked the *Madre della Misericordia* her forgiveness; the cure of his arm followed forty days later. The image was immediately acclaimed by the residents of the neighborhood, among whom Florentines were prominent. They asked permission to transport the image to their church, and the miraculous image was placed in a chapel adjoining the main altar, decorated with the gilded plaster works and paintings of the

era. On March 22, 1648, at the request of the Florentine nobles, the image was crowned by the Vatican Chapter.

On the outer wall of a dwelling in Via Parione as late as 1535 there was a painting of an image of Mary with the Divine Child. It was located near a well and had been greatly venerated in the crowded neighborhood. One day, so runs the legend, a gambler in a fit of anger and cursing obscenely, threw a stone at the image. Immediately the face of Mary was stained with apparent blood, traces of which still remain on one eyebrow and on the throat. Bystanders were at first stupefied then ran to wipe the miraculous liquid with linen cloths; others turned on the impious offender and delivered him to the police. The object of the sacrilege was detached from the wall and taken to the nearby parochial church of St. Mary and St. Gregory in Vallicella. In 1575, in the days of St. Philip Neri, the little church was transformed into the present sumptuous temple commonly called the *Chiesa Nuova*. The image was crowned by the Vatican Chapter on July 9, 1649.

The image of *S. Maria in Posterula* was once located on the house where the pastor of *S. Biagio della Tinta* lived. In 1573 a blind man begged Mary for the grace of sight. One day while he was praying he suddenly opened his eyes and saw the image. Neighbors, startled by his cries, came in such crowds that it was considered best to remove the shrine from above the pastor's door and place it in the church.

The *Madonna dell'Orazione* in the *Chiesa della Morte* had once been a painting on the outer wall of a stable. The Confraternity of the Company of the Dead asked the owner if they might keep it in their church because of the great veneration in which it was held. Permission was granted, and in 1577 they installed it with great solemnity on the main altar. On November 6, 1661, the Vatican Chapter proceeded with the coronation of the image in recognition of its miracles.

The *Madonna della Salute* had also been a painting on a street in the Borgo. In 1659 the *Chierici Regolari delle Scuole Pie* had it removed from the wall and taken to the church of St. Lawrence in the Borgo. It was called *Madonna della Salute* because of the many cures it had effected and was crowned by the Vatican Chapter December 6, 1696.

In 1426 the Ardicini Cardinals commissioned a painting of Our Lady on the facade of their palace in the Borgo. The gracefulness of its design and the beauty of its color quickly drew the prayerful attention of passersby and very soon the whole was covered with votive memorials. For greater reverence a railing like a choir screen was placed in front of it. In 1657 the heirs of the Ardicini gave the painting to the Confraternity of the Most Blessed Sacrament. The news of its miracles constantly spread, the image was brought in solemn procession to the church of St. Joachim at Scossacavalli, where the Vatican Chapter crowned it in 1664.

Some of Rome's most celebrated churches were built to honor other images of Our Lady which first were venerated as popular shrines in the public streets.

For example, there was an image under the portico of the ancient church of St. Andrew of the Acquaricciari, in the Parione section, during the pontificate of Sixtus IV, a time in which Italy was made bloody by constant battles among the States. The Pontiff implored Our Lady to restore peace among his people, promising to erect a church to house the Madonna of the portico in Parione. Such a church did in fact arise in thanksgiving for the grace obtained, the magnificent *S. Maria della Pace.*

Under Pope Alexander VI, several prosperous merchants cooperated with twelve associations of workmen to erect the church of *S. Maria dell'Orto* to safeguard a Madonna painted above a garden gate in Trastevere. It had miraculously cured the owner from the last stages of an incurable disease. Following numerous miracles, this image, too, was crowned by the Vatican Chapter on August 19, 1657.

The church of *S. Maria della Scala* was built by the Cardinal Tolomeo Gallio da Como with the offerings of lovers of Mary who particularly admired a picture painted under the outer stairway of a small house in Trastevere. In 1592 it had reportedly healed a deaf-mute child. The church was completed by the nephew of Cardinal Tolomeo, who transported the image there after it had been detached from the wall. In 1597 Clement VIII gave the church to the Carmelites, who received for their Madonna the gold crown from the Vatican Chapter in 1646.

In 1681 the church of the *Madonna dei Miracoli* in the Piazza del Popolo was consecrated. It had been built to safeguard a mir-

aculous image painted on cloth formerly venerated in a small church on the bank of the Tiber, near Porta Flaminia. This little church had been built in 1525 to honor a yet earlier image painted under an archway on the bank of the river, which had been invoked by a drowning child and had given to the chapel the name *Madonna dei Miracoli.* But in 1598 Cardinal Antonio Salviati wished to give the miraculous image to the church of S. Joachim of the Incurables which he had built, and so he caused a copy to be made on like cloth for the chapel, which copy to bear and to merit the title *dei Miracoli.*

*S. Maria delle Fornaci* was built to house a miraculous image of Mary which a priest, Giuseppe Faraldi, had commissioned from the Flemish painter Egidio Alet to be placed outside the Porta Cavalleggeri at a place where young men used to gather. The painting speedily became an object of popular cult, especially among the young, and in 1691 the present building was raised on the designs of Andrea Pozzo.

The *Madonna della Purita* was painted on the wall of the home of a certain Lucrezia Salviati in the Borgo. During the Sack of Rome in 1527 the Bourbon soldiers burned the house; debris covered the picture and the place became a rubbish dump. Later, the retreating waters of a flood uncovered the picture of Mary. A woman with a crippled hand, passing by the spot, saw the face emerging from the ruins and, as if by inspiration, cried out in prayer and praise. Hardly had she spoken when she was perfectly cured. The miracle aroused such great interest that popular offerings made it possible to construct a church into which the image was transferred. The church, *S. Maria della Purita,* later fell into neglect, but the shrine is now in the Oratory of *S. Maria in Trasportina.*

In 1668 the Abbot Farsetti, a Venetian nobleman, commissioned Gagliardi di Citta' di Castello to paint "a devout image of Mary nursing her Divine Child" for public veneration in a dingy alley existing at that time hard by the Palazzo Venezia. The priest's intention was to sanctify the place, which was considered dangerous. Eventually the end of the alley was transformed into an oratory which in 1677 was splendidly decorated through the generosity of Antonio Barbaro, Ambassador of the Republic of Venice. In 1682 the Marquis Francesco Ruspoli had an altar constructed

of choice marble in thanksgiving for a miraculous healing he received through intercession before this image.

Perhaps the most widely renowned of the street shrines later translated into churches is the shrine of Our Lady of the Way. The *Madonna della Strada* takes us back to 425 when the Roman, Giulio Astalli, in the days of Pope Celestine I, erected a church in honor of the Virgin Mary in Section VIII of the ancient city. This shrine is sometimes called the *Madonna degli Astalli.* There are differences of opinion concerning the precise origins of its name but it seems most likely that it was named *Madonna degli Astalli* because of a church erected by the Astalli family and *Madonna della Strada* because it had first been on the wall of a public street.

When St. Ignatius Loyola was in Rome he celebrated Mass before this image every day, having obtained possession of the church from Pope Paul III for the Order he had founded. In 1568 Cardinal Alessandro Farnese decided to provide for the growing cult and larger parish by erecting the imposing church of the Gesú. The *Madonna della Strada* was placed in the rich chapel where it is still venerated, a chapel of splendid marbles and precious trophies testifying to the gratitude of the devout multitudes for the innumerable blessings received through Mary for the Roman people.

The devotional history of Rome includes many chapters centering about the street shrines. One of the most dramatic of these involves certain seemingly supernatural events which occurred in 1796 and which caused the Romans to turn even more fervently to their street shrines. Several images of the Blessed Virgin venerated in the public streets were reported to have moved their eyes miraculously. The city was thrown into a hubbub by the extraordinary events. The populace hurried in crowds to whatever places reported the marvels, giving rise to moving scenes of popular faith.

Some idea of the profound echo these incidents had in the souls of the Roman people may be gleaned from a few quotations from chronicles of the time.

While Rome was envying the happy lot of the people of Ancona and the other cities of the Marches for having been worthy to witness great miracles worked by God by means of the sacred images of His Holy Mother with the opening, closing and turning of her eyes, this

Capital of the Catholic world in turn obtained a similar favor. On the morning of Saturday, July 9, the day especially dedicated to the glories of Mary, at about eleven o'clock, several devout persons, Religious among them, pausing to pray to Our Lady of the Archway observed that the miraculous image was turning and raising its eyes. At such an extraordinary sight *(prodigio)*, the people quickly assembled crowds so great that the authorities found it necessary to station soldiers to maintain order. The Blessed Virgin did not limit herself to working the wonder through this sacred image alone; soon after the prodigy was repeated in the cases of many others located in various streets. On Sunday and Monday a number of prodigies occurred at other images venerated in churches, e.g., *S. Maria del Popolo, S. Maria in Vallicella, S. Marcello agli Agonizzanti* and *S. Marcello agli Bonfratelli,* etc., where the faithful also reported receiving many graces.

It was also observed that on two dry branches of lilies, which had been attached to the wall under the *Madonna dell'Arco de' Pantani*—one more than a year before, the other several months before—four green buds appeared on Saturday, flourishing before the very eyes of the people.

On the occasion of these great marvels the Holy Father, in order to encourage his beloved people even more to penance and to sincere reconciliation with God, published through Cardinal della Somaglia, his Vicar, a call to attendance at the Missions which were to begin on Sunday the tenth at 9:30 in the evening in six designated squares: in Piazza Navona, preached by Benedetto Fenaja, a mission father; in Piazza Barberini, with Father Giovanni Marchetti; in Piazza Colonna, with Father Vincenzo da S. Paolo, a Passionist; in Piazza di S. Maria in Trastevere with Father Giuseppe Marconi; in Piazza di S. Maria de' Monti, with Father Giuseppe Natale dal Pino; in Piazza di S. Giacomo in Borgo, with Father Guiseppe della Casa, a parish priest.

The crowds of people who gathered at these Missions were filled with holy fervor. Not only did they move in throngs from one image of Mary to another reciting the Rosary and the Litanies, but in the evenings, late into the night, numberless processions were seen—men, women, and children, persons of every quality and circumstance, and even the crippled—singing the praises of the Blessed Virgin. In her honor the City was illumined by the faithful so that it seemed like day and the whole spectacle aroused the most tender and holy satisfaction. . . . On Wednesday the Missions appointed for the profit of souls ended in the same six squares. His Eminence, Cardinal della Somaglia, seconding the pious wish of the Roman people themselves, thought it well to invite religious communities, confraternities and all pious associations generally to satisfy their holy desires by well-

ordered penitential processions conducted without pomp. These proceeded in prayer to their favorite churches. . . .

. . . On Thursday afternoon, the people gathered in Piazza Navona for a penitential procession. The Crucifix was carried by a member of the Venerable Archconfraternity of the Sacconi and was followed by Cardinals in purple vestments, a large number of priests also in vestments and by many of the nobility. The people then followed in great numbers, in the best possible order and directed by their priests. After the men came a vast throng of women, following a sacred image of Mary which was carried by the Princess Doria.

When the procession arrived at St. Peter's the crowd assembled in orderly fashion in the square which, though huge, was too small for their number. Father Fenaja ascended a rostrum and preached with zeal urging the people to increased devotion to Mary. Meanwhile Monsignor Brancadoro, Archbishop of Nisibi, vested and took the Blessed Sacrament from a special altar and carried it in procession to a magnificent altar erected at the head of the steps of the Basilica, where Basilica musicians sang the prescribed prayers and the prelate gave solemn Benediction. After this the procession dispersed, and the people left in groups, reciting the Rosary and singing hymns of praise.

In the eyes of the chronicler the City seemed transformed: Our parents certainly never saw—nor, perhaps, will our children ever see—the City of Rome present such a spectacle as it presented in that memorable epoch. Everything focused on one central fact: appearance, manners, speech; the streets, the squares, the stores, the houses, the churches showed changes which would seem incredible even to us who saw them. The holy names of Jesus and Mary were on all lips, as though they were the delight of all hearts. During the day one encountered at every step shrines where the Mother of God, who is also our Mother, was constantly entreated by devout throngs praying on their knees, seeking graces or joyfully and gratefully applauding the recurrence of the miracle. This one was full of remorse; that one beat his breast; another had eyes wet with tears. The sacred images of the loving Mother were no longer left abandoned during the long days and short nights of this warm season. At dusk each evening another tender spectacle might be observed as the faithful, no longer singly but now in groups of greater or lesser number walked from their homes to the local shrines singing various praises in sweet harmony, alternating with the refrain repeated by all: *Evviva Maria, Evviva Gesu; Evviva Maria e Chi La Creo!*

At the last two Missions the Pope himself, Pius VI, was present.

On Monday His Holiness went to the Piazza Barberini where he heard the Mission preached by Abbot Marchetti from the balcony of a private house which had been fittingly decorated. At the end of the mission ceremony, he descended to a room prepared as a vestry and there vested. Preceded by the Papal Cross he passed to a nearby altar where the Most Blessed Sacrament taken from the church of the Capuchin Fathers was already exposed. After he had genuflected, assisted by the prelates of his private chamber, he gave Benediction to the vast crowd assembled in that huge square. The ceremony concluded, His Holiness unvested and in the midst of the acclamations of the crowd he returned to his residence in the Quirinal. On Tuesday His Holiness came out again and went to the palace of the vicegerent of the City where he listened from a beautifully decorated window to the Mission preached by Father Vincenzo, the Passionist. At its conclusion he gave solemn Benediction to the crowd which filled the square.

Even a year later the enthusiasm of the people had not died out. On July 9, 1797, a great feast of thanksgiving was celebrated in the churches of Rome in memory of the marvelous movement of the eyes which had taken place the year before and had occasioned the unprecedented missions and public devotions. Every image of Our Lady in the public streets of Rome was restored if necessary and in each case beautifully decorated for the solemn anniversary of the prodigies.

But if the street shrines were scenes of joyful and glorious mysteries, so also they were destined for sorrowful experiences. The memories of the miracles of the *madonnelle* were still fresh when Rome was occupied by the French troops. The Pope was exiled, the churches stripped and largely closed, the clergy were hounded and religious observances were forbidden. In such a season it was inevitable that the shrines in the streets of Rome became frequent objects of vandalism. The chronicler records several sad incidents of sacrilege:

. . . Last night the image which was on the corner of the Bonaccorsi palace was prudently removed from its niche. Several other images were broken that same night with stone, for which reason many have already been removed in order not to expose them to similar insults. One of them, the *Madonna della Pieta* located over the store of a merchant named Montanari on the street from Piazza Colonna to Montecitorio, was even pelted with excrement. In broad daylight stones were thrown at another image on the Corso, and orders were given to have

it removed. Whoever would have believed such acts of impiety could be committed without punishment in Rome? . . .

. . . During the past two nights other images have been smashed by stones and for this reason they and others which had been spared were removed from their niches. Some of the people, however, especially in Borgo, in Trastevere and in Monti, would not take down the shrines; others placed in the niches paper images as temporary substitutes and kept the lamps lit there at night as if the real ones were still there. . . . For several nights the people kept watch in order to trap the unruly stone-throwers.

At long last the period of anarchy came to its end and Rome triumphantly acclaimed the returning Pontiff. The city was illuminated for many nights as a sign of the general joy. The bells rang out again, the churches were opened, processions were renewed. The images of Our Lady began to gleam again.

After the return of Pius VII the cult of the street images of the Blessed Virgin flourished with new enthusiasm. The number of shrines multiplied and those which had been disfigured were made more beautiful. In every section of the City the people competed in adorning palaces and houses, streets and alleys with these signs of their Faith.

The violence of 1870 renewed momentarily the injuries of the unbeliever to the street shrines. The *Voce della Verita* reported on August 29, 1873 that two of the Garibaldini, bent on mischief, went about saying: "If the Romans don't remove these dolls, we shall shatter them." Among the images that suffered damage at the hands of such as these were the shrine under the arch of the Biscione, that at Piazza della Pace and that of Vicolo delle Bollette.

At one stage there was even a proposal made to remove all the effigies from public veneration; a petition was drawn up to the Mayor of Rome, Count Luigi Pianciani, but without success. Many images had to be covered over, however, to spare them new profanation in the first years of the Savoy occupation of Rome.

With the passing of Papal Rome the number of street shrines constantly decreased. In 1853 when Alessandro Rufini wrote his *"Indicazione delle immagini di Maria SS.ma, collocate sulle mura esterne di taluni edifici dell' alma citta' di Roma* there were 1421 street shrines dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, as well as another 1318 images which had reference to other religious subjects. Now,

despite the tremendous development of the city, there are only 535 street shrines in all.

Writing in 1939 Publio Parsi, to whose book *Edicole di fede e di pieta nelle vie di Roma* this article is almost totally indebted, laments the failure of the public builders in the Savoy and Fascist years of Rome's development to make any provision for this ancient Roman tradition in their modern buildings. One hears that since World War II new street shrines have appeared; those who love Rome will welcome such news if it be true.

Meanwhile, pilgrims to Rome for the Holy Year of 1950 will find at every turn these monuments of Roman faith and fervor. Certain of these in each section of the City deserve particular notice in a future article to appear in this Review.

✠ JOHN WRIGHT
*Auxiliary Bishop of Boston*

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THE SPECIAL VALUE OF THE JUBILEE INDULGENCES

In conclusion there comes a critical reflection. If the Jubilee is but a plenary indulgence, this can be gained through works of piety now in practice in the Church and furthermore, much more easily, so that the necessity and the solemnity of the Jubilee would seem to fade since the Jubilee imposes hard, not easy, conditions.

The same difficulty was considered in the days of Bourdaloue, who noted three characteristics of the Jubilee indulgence. It is more solemn in that it extends to the whole of the Christian world and enkindles a fervor for good among the mass of the people which is not to be found in the devotions of isolated individuals. It is privileged in that the faculties of the ministers of pardon are amplified and the channels of grace made easier. It is more certain than others because everything is performed in the light of day and under the eyes and the control of the Church with a solemnity of rites and functions which lead the people of the world to realize that they are pilgrims journeying to their homeland which can be reached "not by steps of the body but with aspirations of the soul."

—Fr. Mariano Cordovani, O.P., in "The Theology of the Jubilee," published in the *Official Bulletin of the Central Committee, Holy Year, MCML*, I, 5 (June, 1949), 30.

# NATIONALIZATION AND THE CATHOLIC TRADITION

## THE PROBLEM

A strong wind of socialism is blowing even through the supposedly free countries of the world! There is a peculiar notion abroad today that in some mysterious way economic and social problems are automatically solved by a simple transference of control from private hands over to the public authority. Regardless of history or of facts the climate of opinion in our time favors acquiescence in this attitude. While they should realize that the state—even when spelled with a capital "S"—cannot be essentially different from, or superior to the citizens who comprise it, many now look upon it as a separate entity, strong and independent, sufficient of itself to guarantee their welfare and protection. They envision it as a giant structure of services and rewards which will somehow be paid for by somebody else. It is, of course, the familiar philosophy of apparently getting something for nothing. Some even convey the impression that they are no longer concerned whether they have property or not (ownership used to be regarded as a fundamental human desire and necessity), so long as they have an adequate claim on state benefits which provide for education, health, and the various types of social insurance. All of which would, presumably, be perfectly acceptable if increased social legislation does not involve increased regimentation, if men are not required to sacrifice precious liberty for fair words and promises of security.

How has this idea that the good life should be planned and organized compulsorily from the cradle to the grave become so fashionable? Many causes are contributory. Perhaps from the theological point of view when human beings lose faith and the hope of eternal security vanishes, earthly security becomes extremely important. On the philosophical level the person, in jeopardy today, tends to seek strength in the collectivity. Historical and psychological factors also undoubtedly play a part. We are still in the aftermath of the most disastrous conflict in history, a struggle which necessitated complete mobilization of all our energies and resources. Our younger generation have never known normalcy.

We have been moving from one crisis to another and in times of emergency the state is necessarily vested with extraordinary power. Then, too, there is the inevitable reaction to the old classic liberalism which advocated a quiescent or non-interfering type of government.[1] Its slogan was: "He who governs least governs best." The prevailing attitude, "Let the state do it," represents a swing to the opposite extreme. At any rate many nations throughout the world, even outside the Iron Curtain, such as England, France, Australia, New Zealand, Argentina, and the Scandinavian countries, have gone a long way down the primrose path of progressive planning. Even our own Federal government now has powers that would have been frightening to the Founding Fathers. The theologians of the early part of this century were mightily agitated about such a possibility.[2] Are we to regard it complacently as something not only inevitable but desirable? And it should be noted that it is happening in an age when labor and the poorer classes are receiving, generally speaking, better treatment—although God knows it is still far from ideal!—than ever before in modern times.

### ADVANTAGE OF CATHOLIC VIEW

If you gaze into troubled waters you can scarcely see your face. So, too, if we look directly at the problems of our time it is difficult to get a clear view either of ourselves or of our immediate environment. One of the great advantages of having been steeped in the Catholic tradition is that we are able to take the long range point of view. Whether we realize it or not we are heirs to a great body of thought and practice, a rich doctrine of personal, social, and national relations developed by a universal Church through the ac-

[1] Strange how we attach new meanings to words! A generation ago one was a liberal if opposed to state intervention whereas to be a liberal today he must advocate its increase.

[2] See such works as Victor Cathrein, *Socialism*, 8th ed., transl. V. F. Gettelmann (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1904); Michael Cronin, *The Science of Ethics*, (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, Ltd., 1917), vol. II, in addition, of course, to the Encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII. While it is true that "scientific" socialism then meant communism those writers were also greatly concerned about the less virulent brands. Some recent European works, e.g. Robert Kothen, *Le Socialisme* (Louvain, E. Warny, 1946) still take account of these and of what they term the "new tendencies" of socialism.

cumulated experience of centuries of dealing with every kind of regime and society. The very attempt in various places to exclude Catholics from public affairs should help to give, as it were, a sense of detachment and the possibility of a more impartial appraisal. The secularist, on the contrary, who is without roots of any kind must necessarily live on the daily headlines. Bereft of history and tradition he is inclined to regard practically everything that happens as in the nature of a sensation. This problem, like most other human difficulties, goes far back into antiquity. Even in the pre-Christian era the Greek philosophers tried to grapple with it. We find Plato, for example, striving to effect a divorce between political power and financial influence by denying property to the rulers of his *Republic*.[3] Thus he hoped to eliminate graft, greed, and corruption in public office. Ultimately, however, as distinct from Aristotle, Plato's solution is definitely totalitarian in tendency. The advent of Christianity brought a revolution in this, as in other respects, in that it taught men clearly the distinction, as well as the relation, between God and Caesar.[4] Although not in itself a final end the state can, nevertheless, help man work out his destiny. While in a sense it is true, as the great French thinker, Paul Claudel, pointed out, that the Church is more or less indifferent to all forms of government so long as they do not impede her supernatural mission it would, at the same time, be a mistake to minimize the legitimate rôle of the state. In other words, if the trend today is toward increasing domination on the part of the temporal power we must not go to the opposite extreme and deny its proper function. St. Thomas Aquinas and the great authorities of the past insist that legitimate authority, or the legislator, has a large, even if limited, part to play in the drama of man's life and destiny.[5] Their reasoning is clear and simple. A certain moderate amount of this world's goods is necessary not only

[3] A. E. Taylor, *Plato: the Man and His Work* (New York: The Dial Press, Inc., 1936). Professor Taylor denies the commonly accepted notion that Plato advocated communism. Cf. p. 276 f.

[4] At least it should have done so. We find, however, that even after the Resurrection some of the disciples were apparently not clear about the spiritual nature of Our Lord's mission. They asked "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?" Acts 1:6.

[5] Cf. Jacques Zeiller, *L'idee de l'État dans Saint Thomas d'Aquin* (Paris, Felix Alcan, 1910).

to live but even to enable one to practice virtue. Hence God intended that all should receive an equitable share of the fruits of the earth. If this is not effected justly by other means it is the duty of the State to intervene in behalf of the neglected individual or family. How goods and services are to be properly distributed pertains, says St. Thomas, partly to the will of the private possessor and partly to the providence of the good legislator.[6] He was realistic enough to see that there are times when the impulse of inner charity alone is not enough, when the exercise of external authority becomes necessary to compel certain individuals to make their just contribution to the common weal. And all the social teaching of Christian moralists in the ages of faith was not merely theoretical. It was embodied in the practice of the medieval guilds, a vast structure which, while preserving the principle of private enterprise and personal initiative, regulated industry, labor, and practically all forms of social exchange. The guilds operated on the twin principle of function and balance. It should be emphasized, however, that even though they are in most cases identical with the town government they were still subordinate groups and did not correspond to the supreme authority of the state as we know it today.[7]

### THE NEW LEVIATHAN

It is unnecessary here to trace the causes and factors contributing to the rise of the modern moloch state. Christopher Dawson and others have shown how the secular power, because of the decline of religious faith and the growth of the idea of sovereignty due to such philosophers as Hobbes, Locke, and Bodin, was gradually able to take over most of the functions, education, charity, etc., previously administered by the Church. Laski, in his *Reflections on the Revolution of Our Times,* claims that we have now reached the absolute and final secularization of society. Certainly the political authority of today interposes itself more and more in economic and social matters. The result is, to a great extent, the

[6] Cf. Ia-IIae, p. 105, art. 3: *In Polit.* II, 5; *De Reg. Princ.* I, 15.

[7] Apparently only such important matters as those pertaining to coinage was the power of the Prince invoked. See in this respect the famous treatise written by Nicholas of Oresme about 1373 entitled, *Tractatus de origine natura, jure, et mutationibus monetarum.*

substitution of state control for what was formerly accomplished by self-control. The Catholic ages were marked by an active and spontaneous exercise of the social virtues. The guilds, as we have seen, manifested medieval social ideals in their stress on spiritual obligations and the practice of the works of mercy.

Obviously the problem is vastly different in the present highly complex, mechanized, industrialized set-up from what it was in the middle ages. Then you had a comparatively simple organization of society responsive for the most part to ethical and religious motivation. Our society, while not lacking in great natural virtue, is generally geared on a lower plane. Look how the great Cathedrals and Abbeys of Europe were often built by voluntary labor! (Incidentally this helped to absorb the unemployed just as the large number of holydays automatically reduced the number of working hours.) Then such agencies as the pulpit and the confessional operated effectively to control the inner man. But few modern industrial capitalists are reached in this way. Gradually, since the Industrial Revolution large corporations and huge urban-industrial centers have been built up. There has resulted what the Popes have described as an excessive concentration of wealth and power and, until recently at least, little attention was paid to the needs of the poorer and the weaker members of society who were unable to fight their own battles. The point is that we have here a vicious circle. Mass production seems to require the large factory and the joint-stock company. These in many instances became so powerful that only a strong centralized authority can cope with them. Things became too large for private enterprise both technically and financially. The small business man has today almost disappeared. State socialism is the climax of concentrated capitalism. Ultimately it all goes back to a conflict between avarice and cupidity on the one side and a tremendous urge for power on the other.[8]

### SPIRITUAL REMEDY PRIMARY

It follows that, as Pope Pius XI emphasizes in *Quadragesimo Anno,* in any attempted solution spiritual regeneration must be given

[8] Big business is itself largely to blame in that it invokes state authority wherever it suits the vested interests. Also, as Pope Pius XI describes in *Quadragesimo Anno,* it tries to get hold of the state and promotes a threefold struggle in the local, national, and international spheres respectively.

first place. To look for salvation in changed external structures, important as these may be, is to ignore original sin and identify the Fall with defective political and social arrangements. All disorder begins in the human mind and heart; therefore nothing will substitute for the moral reform of the individual person. This, of course, is the prime function of the Church. Moreover in any problem of this kind we must distinguish its economic from its ethical aspects. It is one thing to ask "will such and such a system result in the production of more goods and services?", quite another to inquire, "will it be conducive to the good life and man's ultimate happiness?" Catholicism is not identified with any temporal order or regime. As opposed to all forms of materialism it takes the spiritual organic view of life. We realize more than ever today that man does not live by bread alone.

Economic and material goods are, although subordinate, nonetheless necessary. In man's present state the general institution of private property seems best calculated to achieve the plan of God whereby all men should have a just share in the fruits of the earth. No really impelling or effective substitute for proprietary rights has yet been found. But the general institution of property is not to be identified with any particular historical form it may assume. For instance, capitalism, as we know it, is a growth of recent times although private ownership has existed practically from the beginning. In other words, we defend private property not as it is but as it should be. Nor do we stand for a system of private property alone. The Catholic ideal, whose aim is a wide distribution of goods, envisions in addition a certain amount of common, together with state, ownership. This accords with the purpose of the State which is to help the individual and the family achieve their perfection, to safeguard their rights, and to promote the prosperity, common good and harmony of all classes.[9] In furtherance of these aims it may not only regulate the use of property; it may also own and operate particular undertakings. In what is likely to be one of the most discussed passages of *Quadragesimo Anno* Pius XI writes: Certain forms of property must be reserved to the State because they carry with them an opportunity for domination too great to be

[9] See in this connection the excellent article by Rev. Patrick Conway on "The State in Economic Life" in *Christus Rex* (July, 1948), II, 1-16 as well as the statement of the Australian Hierarchy in 1948.

left in the hands of private individuals without injury to the community at large.[10] Naturally the Pontiff does not attempt to specify what these forms of property are. Since he is addressing the entire world he realizes that definite applications of the principle must be relative to the requirements of particular regions. It is easy to see that certain fields pertaining to national security and defense, the development of natural resources, and the promotion of large-scale essential public works should belong immediately to the highest governing power. Recently Harold Laski incorrectly cited the T.V.A. as an example of how far the United States had advanced down the road of socialism.

### PRINCIPLES INVOLVED

Otherwise, in normal times, the following principles may be found helpful in determining whether state ownership is justified in a particular instance:

1) The Church is opposed to any kind of general collectivization of property. Not only is the philosophy and program of communism irreconcilable with Catholic teaching but also any plan for universal socialism in the sense of completely taking over the machinery of business by the state. Furthermore the expropriation of any one industry is wrong if it is done with a view to achieving this ultimate aim. As the present Holy Father put it in a recent statement: *wholesale nationalization should not be made the basis of national economy.* To make it the normal rule is to reverse the true order grounded on the principle of private enterprise.
2) Nationalization should be a last resort, that is, it should be enforced only when intermediary measures have failed and, of course, after due compensation has been made. There is a wide range of state participation which falls short of complete control. Supervision will sometimes obtain the desired result although even supervision is not always to be regarded as a substitute for vision.
3) The governing interest should be the common good. In a given industry it must be shown that public ownership is, in the long run, economically and socially superior and more efficient. A

[10] Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* (New York: The Paulist Press, 1931), p. 35.

rigid policy of "levelling down" is not enough and, generally speaking, regulation is preferable to complete control.

4) It is wrong to suppose that the sole alternative to nationalization is unregulated free enterprise. A more satisfactory solution will frequently be found in public control by local bodies. Decentralization, not centralization should be the watchword. The primary duty of the State is to abolish disputes between opposing classes (not the classes themselves) and to promote harmony between vocational groups. The aim of social policy should be the re-establishment of vocational groups. In a letter to M. Flory, President of the *Semaines Sociales,* the present Pontiff seems to favor this idea in preference to nationalization.[11]

5) Even though the evolution of the present capitalistic order seems to warrant increasing state intervention we must be conscious that there is a lurking danger in economic bureaucracy. Its increase renders the operation of the democratic process more difficult, tends to weaken private enterprise (it must be emphasized that the Encyclicals do not condemn the profit motive as such), and may eventually lead to the stifling or stamping out of liberty. He who pays the piper is likely to insist on calling the tune. The super-government may easily

[11] In this letter the Holy Father referring to nationalization writes, "Our Predecessors, and We Ourselves, have more than once touched upon the moral aspect of this measure. Now it is evident that, instead of making life and work in common less mechanical, this nationalization, even when it is licit, risks rather to make them more so, and that, consequently, the profit accruing from nationalization to a true community, such as you understand it, is highly questionable.

In Our Judgment the establishment of associations or corporate groups in all the branches of the national economy would be much more conducive both to the realization of the end which you pursue and at the same time to the greater success of the enterprises. At any rate, this was certainly true wherever, as it was up to this time, the concentration of enterprises and the disappearance of small independent producers were working only in favor of capital and not in favor of the public economy. There is no doubt, besides, that, in the present circumstances, the corporative form of social, and especially of economic, life is, in practice, favorable to the Christian doctrines regarding the person, the community, labor and private property." *Social Action Notes for Priests,* September, 1946, p. 2. See also the comments of Father de Marco on this statement in *Civiltà Cattolica,* September 7, 1948. His interpretation was later endorsed in an article in *L'Osservatore Romano.*

turn to despotism; the service state may become the servile state. There is also the danger of multiplying state services beyond the limits taxation will bear. Furthermore such increased economic power may not only lead to undesirable concentration and centralization of industry; it may actually result in unfair competition with existing private enterprise. The state, also, may be a monopolist.

6) Excessive or indiscriminate nationaliation is wrong but not necessarily nationalization in a limited or selective form. The Catholic ideal is not the omnicompetent state. It favors rather the auxiliary state envisioning its rôle as primarily subsidiary. Its function is neither that of the policeman or the nurse. It should help the individual and the family without absorbing them. The Church insists on the principle of responsibility and stewardship. All authority comes from God and, in a sense, the higher the position we hold the more servile we should become. Does not the Father of Christendom sign himself *servus servorum Dei?* The state, too, should be the servant of the servants of God.

### PRACTICAL CONCLUSIONS

All the foregoing may sound interesting enough in theory but if we are to touch the nerve of reality we must ask, what is to be done in practice about it? Due to unsettled post-war conditions state intervention is likely to increase for some time to come. Indeed even in normal times a highly functionalized society implies larger state power if it is to exercise its proper function of "directing, watching, stimulating and restraining." One cannot imagine our country, with the marvelous system of checks and balances provided in its Constitution, consciously going socialistic. The spirit of the American people does not possess any inherent totalitarian tendencies. Nevertheless it is conceivable that we might drift or back into socialism. In his installation speech as head of Columbia University General Eisenhower wisely observed:

> The concentration of too much power in centralized government need not be the result of violent revolution or great upheaval. A paternalistic government can gradually destroy, by suffocation in the immediate advantage of subsidy, the will of a people to maintain a high degree of individual responsibility. And the abdication of individual responsibility is inevitably followed by further concentration of power in the state.

Government ownership or control of property is not to be decried principally because of the historic inefficiency of governmental management of productive enterprises; its real threat rests in the fact that, if carried to the logical extreme, the final concentration of ownership in the hands of government gives to it, in all practical effects, absolute power over our lives.

Hence we must be constantly on our guard: the price of liberty is still eternal vigilance. We must be socially active and sensitive; we must develop a keen sense of public responsibility, realizing at the same that it is not political controls but inner compulsions and desires that really matter. We must pray for what the Great Emancipator longed for after a somewhat similar crisis, that there will be a new birth of freedom. The application of the social doctrine of the Church, warns the present Supreme Pontiff, "cannot be the work of a day. Its realization demands of all participants a clear-sighted and fore-sighted wisdom, a strong dose of good sense and goodwill. . . . It demands, finally, a distinterestedness such as only an authentic Christian virtue can inspire." It is so easy for any of us to identify our own interests with the public good and to claim official approval for the *status quo* especially if we happen to be doing well under the present arrangement.

Consequently it would be a mistake to put ourselves in the position of appearing to be unintelligently reactionary in this matter. We must continue to work for our traditional social objectives, especially the formation of a new order molded in the Christian spirit of cooperation rather than cut-throat competition. Catholic social thinkers in England have found conditions in that country less alarming than might be expected. There practically all the major industries, coal, transport, gas, electricity, and now steel, have been taken over by the government. A recent visitor, the editor of *The Economist* of London described in a lecture how, so far, it seems to have made very little practical difference. He admitted that the immense proliferation of governmental controls has certainly not resulted in all the advantages the socialists predicted. He also conceded that British industry is now divided into two sectors. "One is private industry over which the government exercises quite a significant degree of control. The other is publicly owned industry, over which the government exercises no control whatever."

The net result at this stage appears to be a change over from detailed and specific to long-range, strategic, economic planning. In other words, the objective now is more along the lines of trying to do something about the weather rather than attempt to control each drop of rain. France has already moved in the opposite direction, recently returning seven government-owned plane factories to private management. Others seem to be learning by experience the wisdom of the statement of Pope Pius XI that the majesty of the state has nothing to gain by immersing itself in a multiplicity of duties that could be better performed by lesser bodies. Perhaps, we, too, may see before it is too late that it is more sensible to try to do something about the weather than to busy ourselves in a futile attempt to control the rain-drops.

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### ST. CHARLES AND THE HOLY YEAR OF 1575

St. Charles, as Guissani tells us, came from Milan and paid short visits to the churches. He always walked and sometimes went barefoot. He carried himself humbly and was so wrapped up in prayer that he did not notice his sister, his parents, or important people as they passed. He visited the seven churches several times, always on foot, and he went to others where precious relics were venerated. He ascended the Holy Staircase on his knees nearly every day. He accompanied his prayers and fasting with generous alms to the poor, and gave hospitality in his house to people from Milan and elsewhere. He aroused so much devotion that, as he passed through the streets, everyone came out to see him, and threw themselves upon their knees, and tried to kiss his garments.

—Luigi Huetter, in "Saints of the Holy Years," printed in the *Official Bulletin of the Central Committee, Holy Year, MCML*, I, 6-7 (July and August, 1949), 18.

# THE NEW HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS

## PART I

All the readers of the *Review* have heard before this of the remarkable discovery in Palestine, something wholly unexpected and hardly even hoped for.[1] The daily press has carried news of the

[1] In this article, in order to avoid repeating long titles, the references will be given according to the following arrangement—largely chronological:

A. = Biblical Archaeologist; publ. by the Am. Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven, Conn. An excellent review which can hardly be recommended too highly.

a. = XI, 1948 (May): G. E. Wright: a phenomenal discovery pp. 21-23

b. = XI, 1948 (Sept.): J. C. Trever: the discovery of the Scrolls pp. 46-57
Millar Burrows: contents and significance of the manuscripts pp. 57-61

c. = XII, 1949 (May): Mar A. Y. Samuel: the purchase of the Jerusalem Scrolls pp. 26-31
G. E. Wright: the cave excavated
: Fragments of Daniel p. 33
: Extent of the total discovery pp. 33-35
: Photos of the Jerus. Scrolls pp. 35-36
Frank M. Cross, Jr.: the recently discovered scrolls in the Hebrew University in Jerusalem pp. 36-46

B. = Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research (B.A.S.O.R.): New Haven, Conn.

a. = #111: 1948, Oct.: Albright: Note on the Jerusalem Scrolls pp. 2 f.
J. C. Trever: Preliminary Observations pp. 3-16
Millar Burrows: Variant readings—Isaiah MS pp. 16-24

b. = #112: 1948, Dec.: W. H. Brownlee: Jerus. Habakkuk Scroll pp. 8-18
H. L. Ginsberg: Heb. Univ. Scrolls pp. 19-23

c. = #113: 1949, Feb.: J. C. Trever: Palaeographic study pp. 6-23
Millar Burrows: Variant readings—Isa. pp. 24-32
S. A. Birnbaum: date of Isaiah-scroll pp. 33-35

d. = #114: 1949, April: O. R. Sellers: excavation of the Manus. Cave pp. 5-9
W. H. Brownlee: Further light on Habakkuk pp. 9-10
D. N. Freedman: House of Absalom in Hab. Scroll pp. 11-12

event from time to time for the last year or so, occasionally in an erroneous form explicable in writers not familiar with the subject. This is at least a sign of the general interest in the matter—and no doubt the readers of the *Review* have shared in that interest. There have been many publications on that discovery, several of them of the greatest value as coming from persons directly connected with the new documents from the beginning. There have been also several studies of the available material in different *Reviews*. However most of our readers probably did not have access to those publications. Moreover, as far as the present writer is aware, nothing has been published in any Catholic review in this

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C. E. L. Sukenik: *Megillot genuzot* (Jerusalem, 1948: Bialik Foundation). This magnificent work, in Hebrew, deals with the MSS which have come into the possession of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and with two chapters (42 and 43) of the Isaiah Scroll. It contains several excellent plates reproducing parts of the MSS (Plates I and II, and V-XIII), some of them full size, and a transcription of most of the plates. There is, besides (Pl. III) an excellent reproduction with transcription of the Nash Papyrus, and (Pl. IV) the Aramaic Tablet relative to the transfer of the bones of Ozias, King of Juda (d. ab. 740 B. C.: II (IV) *Kings* 15:1-7): its authenticity is questioned by several authors.

This work and the publications under A and B constitute the primary sources of information about the MSS.

D. beside Ginsberg's review of Sukenik (B, b: 19 ff.), several important articles have appeared which examine it more or less extensively. We may mention among these:

a. = I. L. Seeligmann: *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, VI (1949), pp. 1-8.

b. = Tournay, O. P.: "Les anciens MSS hébreux récemment découverts, *Revue Biblique*, 1949, pp. 204-34.

c. = G. Lambert, S. J.: "Un 'psaume' découvert dans le désert de Juda," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, 1949, June, pp. 621-37 (text and interpretation of Sukenik, pp. 31-33).

d. = J. M. Paul Bauchet, O.C.D.: "The newly discovered scrolls of the Jerusalem Desert," *Cath. Bibl. Quart.*, 1949, July, pp. 309-15. Disappointing. Editor's Note [pp. 309 f.]. The article proper limits itself to a tabulation of the variants in Isaias 42 and 43 (MT. and new Scroll), pp. 310-12; next it reproduces the Hymn (= Sukenik Plate X) in transcription and in a Latin translation with 3 or 4 notes. The plate is reproduced (p. 308) on a larger scale than in Sukenik and is easier to read. But otherwise the article fails to give to the reader any of the information that might have been expected from one so well situated.

country outside one recent article.[2] Therefore it will be a service to our readers to give an account of the extraordinary discovery, an account based on the original reports and on the parts of the documents which have appeared so far. It is evident that no one can claim finality as the texts are not available as yet in their complete form, though plans have been made for the publication of the texts in photographic reproduction and in transcription (cf. the announcement in the *Washington Post,* Aug. 21, 1949).

Even when the documents will have appeared in full, one need not be a prophet to foretell that it will be a long time before the many problems raised by the new texts are settled in a manner satisfactory to all competent scholars: for years, no doubt, there will be discussions about the proper reading of some passages and their interpretation, about the connection of the scrolls with the one or the other religious group within Judaism. As will appear from our account later on, we have so far only a small part of the collection originally stored up in the cave; the rest of the material seems to have disappeared. It seems therefore that we will have to be satisfied, even after the publication of the full texts, with incomplete evidence, and we may never be certain that our explanations are fully correct. Nevertheless, even before the publication of all the extant documents, there is enough at hand now to enable us to get our bearings and to appreciate the great significance of the discovery. One particular justification for this attempt

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E. a. = R. de Vaux, O.P.: "Post scriptum: la cachette des MSS hébreux," *Revue Biblique,* 1949, pp. 234-37. A brief but most important contribution, to be supplemented in a subsequent article.

b. = M. Zerwick: in *Verbum Domini* (Rome, 1949) #I, pp. 44-47. Text (upside down) and translation of Sukenik, p. 26. The translation by J. M. P. Bauchet.

c. = R. T. O'Callaghan, S.J.: in *Scripture,* 1949, pp. 41-46.

d. = J. M. P. Bauchet: in *Scripture,* 1948, pp. 21-22.

e. = *l'Ami du Clerge,* 1949, pp. 49-52 (not seen).

f. = Del Medico: in *Recherches de Science Religieuse,* 1948, pp. 589-92.

g. = *Biblica:* a/,1948, pp. 446-48 and b/,1949, pp. 293-94: two brief notices, the contents of which will be found in *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses,* 1949, Jan.-April (cf. pp. 309-12: Coppens, used below.

h. = Zeitlin: in *Jewish Quarterly Review,* 1949, Jan., has attacked the genuineness of the Scrolls—before the investigation of the cave by Harding and de Vaux.

[2] See above Note 1: D, d.

may be found in the circumstance that most, if not all, of the writers mentioned in the Bibliography seem to have had access to only one part of the sources of information or deliberately limited themselves to one part of those sources.

Since the present writer began to write these notes (January, 1949) they have had to be corrected or supplemented several times as new evidence kept coming up which modified the data. Even at the present time, several details remain unknown or doubtful which yet might not be unimportant. Among the facts not fully cleared up may be mentioned the precise identity and the number of the persons connected with the actual finding of the cave, the state of the cave at the time of the discovery, what visits may have been paid to the cave by other persons after the rumor of the find began to spread, how the booty was divided and to whom some parts may have been sold, beside the recipients known already. We know now that the manuscripts were not found, as was supposed at first for a short time, in the library of St. Mark's Convent where they would have been lying in oblivion for a long time (A, b: pp. 46 f.). It was better that this was not the case, for it would have been more difficult to prove the authenticity of the manuscripts. We would have had to depend exclusively on internal evidence, and it might not have been easy to give absolutely conclusive arguments. Dr. Zeitlin would have had followers almost certainly (E, h.).[3]

The cave was found by a Bedouin of the Ta'amireh tribe according to Dr. Sukenik (C: p. 10). Mar Athanasius Y. Samuel speaks of some Bedouins (A, c: pp. 26, 32). In any case, several Bedouins later were concerned in the disposal of the Scrolls (A, c: pp. 27 f.), and we may assume that several persons were present at the dis-

[3] As an illustration cf. Fr. E. J. Coppens (E, g). Concluding his report of Sukenik's lecture in Louvain, he says that "all this is very interesting," but at the same time notes the mystery of the origin of the documents; hence doubts are possible. Sukenik believes in their genuineness, but we must be on our guard and not overlook the objections of S. Zeitlin. But at the last minute, Canon Coppens learned the news of the investigation of the cave by Mr. Harding and Fr. de Vaux and recognized without any hesitation that this settled the question in favor of the genuineness of the discovery. This shows that before the archaeological evidence was produced, there could be room for doubt; without such evidence, it might have been at least very difficult to obtain the agreement of scholars.

covery.[4] The location of the cave was at first stated vaguely as in one of the wadies emptying into the N.W. part of the Dead Sea (C: p. 10). This has become more precise since. Dr. Wright describes the site as near 'Ain Fashkha on the Northwestern shore (A, c: p. 32), the place is mentioned in the maps referred to above in note 4. According to information summarized in *Biblica* (E, g, b/.) and more fully by Fr. J. Coppens in *Ephem. Theol. Lovan.*, 1949, 1-2, p. 311 f., and by Fr. de Vaux, O.P. (E, a.), the cave is twelve kilom.—a little less than eight miles—from Jericho, two kilom.—a little more than one mile—from the shore, in a cliff very difficult of access, looking down on the sea. The precise spot is less than one kilom. North of Khirbet Qumrān (E, a: p. 234), thus a little less than two miles N. of 'Ain Fashkha.[5] The credit for the identification belongs to a young Belgian officer, Philip Lippens, detached for U.N. service in Amman in Transjordania. On the 28th of January, the English Colonel J. O. M. Ashton of the Arab Legion visited the cave and posted sentries to protect it. The Belgian officer communicated the news to Mr. L. Harding, director of the Service of Antiquities in Transjordania and to

[4] In Conder and Kitchener's Map of Western Palestine (3/8 in. to one mile), the 'Arab et Ta'āmireh are located NE of Hebron and SE of Bethlehem. H. Guthe's *Bibelatlas*: No. 20 (Insert 1) places them NE of Hebron, more in an easterly direction towards the Dead Sea. The Turkish Army Map (reproduced by the Map service of the French Army) has the Ta'mara (sic) further away from Hebron, SE of Bethlehem, and closer to the NW end of the Dead Sea. Cp. also Bartholomew's quarter inch Map of Palestine and Legendre's map. The identification of 'Ain Fashkha with a biblical site is doubtful. It may be mentioned that Z. Vilnay (*Madrik Eres Yisra'el*, vol.: Jerusalem, Judah, Dead Sea and Samaria, 2nd ed. (Jerus., 1946) (in Heb.), p. 429) takes it to be 'ain 'Eglayim (Vulg.: Engallim) of *Ezech.* 47:10. The date of the discovery at first was surmised to have been the summer of 1947. Thus v. g. Suken (C: p. 10); cf. D, d: p. 309. But since Mar A. Y. Samuel heard about the scrolls in April, 1947, the discovery must have taken place early in 1947 (cf. A, c: p. 26 and p. 30).

[5] See the maps mentioned n. 4. Also G. A. Smith: *Atlas* #29. For a description of the region and the journey from Jerusalem to this part, the best and most detailed account is perhaps that of Z. Vilnay, *op. cit.*, pp. 415 ff. Regarding Qumrān (305 met. below the level of the Mediterranean Sea), Vilnay says (p. 417) that the Bedouins pronounce the name Gumrān. They call it also Khirbet el Yahūd (ruins of the Jews). There are remains of a fortress and of a water conduit from Roman times. He reports also the view according to which this is Middin (*Jos.* 15, 16).

Fr. de Vaux. In fact Fr. de Vaux and Mr. Harding undertook the exploration of the cave February 15 to March 5, 1949: this will be related a little further on. To finish the description of the cave, it may be added that it is a natural cavity in the rock, eight meters long and two meters wide at the most. The entrance consists of a narrow window and a low opening enlarged by the plunderers (for photos, see B, d: pp. 6-8).

Since the accidental discovery of the cave, the place appears to have been visited on several occasions. Dr. Sukenik, who heard the news of the find at the end of November, 1947, through a dealer of Bethlehem tried to arrange for a visit, and made a new attempt in January, 1948, through a Syrian friend in Jerusalem, but was unsuccessful; this is not surprising in the difficult circumstances of Palestine at that time. The Jerusalem Syrian who contacted Dr. Sukenik in January, 1948, spoke of having visited the cave in the company of a Ta'amireh Bedouin (C: p. 10). Before this, Fr. Yusef of the Syrian Monastery of St. Mark visited the cave in the second week of August, 1947, with the Jerusalem merchant who had been to the cave with some Bedouins (A, c: p. 28; cf. A, b: p. 49: the priest in question was Fr. Yusef, not Fr. Bulos: A, c: p. 30, note 7). This visit of Fr. Yusef was very brief. They spent only one night in the cave and returned the next day on account of the intense heat. The visitors noticed then one complete jar which they considered taking, but they left it as it proved too heavy (A, c: p. 28). The members of the American School in Jerusalem, who did such fine work on the manuscripts acquired by the Syrian Monastery (Feb.-March, 1948) also thought of visiting the place, but the plan had to be abandoned in this case also in view of the difficult conditions (A, b: p. 56). The next visit—which we may call the first official and scientific visit—is that of Mr. L. Harding and Fr. de Vaux. Fr. de Vaux deserves our gratitude for giving us his preliminary report so promptly—to be followed by a detailed account in a forthcoming number of the *Revue Biblique* (E, a; A, c: p. 32).[6] In this occasion every bit

[6] According to Newsletter #5, dated Jerusalem, 1949, 21 March, Dr. O. R. Sellers, director of the American School, visited the place during the excavation on Feb. 16 and 28 with some companions. Fr. de Vaux was invited to take part in that visit by Mr. L. Harding, Director of the Service of Antiquities of Transjordania. Fr. de Vaux does not mention the date, but Dr. Sel-

of evidence was collected most carefully within and without the cave: pieces of the cloth used as wrappings for the scrolls; several thousands of potsherds which were afterwards put together to determine the number and forms of the jars, hundreds of particles of written and unwritten material which had come off the scrolls due to careless handling by earlier clandestine visitors. The purpose was to reconstruct as fully as possible the original condition of the cave. This was indeed a most complicated puzzle. The result of that patient work was to confirm the genuineness of the discovery and the antiquity of the scrolls found in the cave. The pottery was found to belong to the end of the second century B.C. or possibly the beginning of the first century B.C.; in any case before the Roman period. The scrolls therefore, as had been maintained on palaeographic grounds, are older than the first century B.C. The date may naturally be more ancient, and evidently the various documents need not belong to the same date: some of them may be older than others.

Among the potsherds recovered in the cave were a few fragments belonging to the end of the second or beginning of the third century A.D., establishing the fact of a visit to the cave in antiquity, clearly in order to appropriate some of its contents. With several other writers, Fr. de Vaux recalls the account of the origin of one of the Versions in the Hexapla which was found in Jericho in a jar together with other books in Hebrew and in Greek.[7] Both Fr. de Vaux and Dr. Sukenik (C: p. 15) remind us also of the Jericho Pentateuch mentioned in the Masora among ancient Hebrew manuscripts now lost.[8] One is tempted to think that the newly discov-

lers' Newsletter allows to put it in the second half of February, 1949. Cf. also B, d: pp. 5 ff. Dr. Sellers mentions the part taken by the Belgian officer; for further details, cf. Can. J. Coppens (E, g: p. 311).

[7] Cf. Field's *Hexapla*, I, xlii f.: Goettsberger. *Einleiting* i. d. A. T., p. 436; Swete: *Introd. to O. T. in Greek* (1914), pp. 54 f. For a study of the text of Origen in the light of the new evidence, cf. Jos. Balestri: *Bibl. Introd. Generalis Elementa* (1932), p. 159. P. E. Kahle: *The Cairo Geniza* (London, 1947), pp. 160-63.

[8] Cf. Ginsburg: *Introd. to the Hebrew Bible* (London, 1897), 433. C. Steuernegel: *Lehrb. d. Einleitg. A. T.* (1912), p. 25; Jos. Balestri (*op. cit.*), pp. 94 f. On some of the ancient MSS mentioned in the Rabbinic tradition (Me'oni, Za'tusti and Hī') as found in the temple of Jerusalem, cf. J. Z. Lauterbach in *Jew. Quart. Rev.* (N. S. 8), 1917-1918, pp. 385-423. He holds that these 3 MSS were genealogical records, not biblical MSS.

ered cave is the one from which the texts mentioned by the ancients came. Yet we cannot be altogether certain: there may have been more than one hiding place in the same region. What is certain is that the cave contained more than has been recovered or has become known recently. The evidence from the pottery is that there were originally over thirty jars with manuscripts, though we have only about ten manuscripts. If the texts found in the time of Origen came from this cave, they have to be given up for lost long ago. Only if there was some other hiding place from which the texts found at the beginning of the third century A.D. came, could we suppose that at least a part of the treasures taken from the newly discovered cave was removed only recently. There would be therefore the possibility that some additional scrolls might come out of hiding. However so far all attempts to track down other manuscripts have proved fruitless.[9]

Sukenik (*loc. cit*) speaks of the cave as a *Genizah*—literally hiding place, storing away—that is, a depository "in which worn out and heretical books were placed to preserve good things from harm and bad things from harming."[10] But Dr. Sukenik seems to be practically the only one to take this view. The other writers who have expressed themselves on the point hold that it was rather a library which was hidden away in an emergency, with the intention of recovering the books when the crisis was over: so, in different ways, J. C. Trever, Cross Fathers Tournay and de Vaux.[11] Indeed, the great care taken to preserve the manuscripts, wrapped like mummies (A, c: p. 26), sealed with wax and pitch, stored in jars in a place so difficult of access—all this means that the scrolls

[9] Dr. Trever (B, a: p. 16, n. 32)—Oct. 1948—states that "recently word has arrived that the Syrians are negotiating the purchase of two more scrolls, apparently from the same source." This would support the view that the cave contained more than the number of scrolls known to have been purchased. However in April, 1949, Fr. de Vaux (E, a: pp. 326 f.) declares that so far all the searching for other parts of the find had yielded nothing.

[10] E. N. Adler in Valentine's *Jewish Encyclopaedia* (London, 1938), p. 240. More fully, v. g. Al. Marx in *Universal Jew. Ency.*, IV (1941), pp. 531-33.

[11] See B, a: p. 5, n. q; A, c: p. 38; D, b: p. 232; E, a: p. 236; also Can. Coppens (E, g: p. 312).

were merely hidden away on account of a special danger in the hope of finding them again intact at some later time.[12]

The orthodox Syrian Metropolitan Mar A. Y. Samuel was apparently one of the very first ones to learn the news of the discovery. His valuable account of "the Purchase of the Jerusalem Scrolls" (A, c.) gives us all the essential facts as they affect the part of the manuscripts bought by him, and now in this country (cf. *N. Y. Times,* Aug. 21, 1949). To complete the picture we will have to hear a little more from Dr. Sukenik about the negotiations which resulted in the purchase of the lot now the possession of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. When Dr. Sukenik wrote his *Megillot genuzot,* it was not possible to release all the information (C: p. 10).

The news of the discovery reached Mar A. Y. Samuel in April, 1947, relayed by a Syrian of Bethlehem who informed a Syrian friend in Jerusalem. The Bedouins had taken the manuscripts to the Bethlehem Syrian because they believed the texts to be in Syriac. The account of the discovery given to the Metropolitan convinced him of the great age of the manuscripts, and so from the very beginning he made efforts to obtain the scrolls. The Bedouins, accompanied by the Jerusalem Syrian, came to the Monastery of St. Mark in July with "all the scrolls," "including at least some of those now in the Hebrew University," but through some misunderstanding they were refused admittance, with results well-nigh disastrous for St. Mark, for the Bedouins, approached by a Jewish merchant of Jerusalem, were tempted for a while to acept his offer. One of the Bedouins took his share of the booty and disposed of it independently. Mar A. Y. Samuel thinks that this was the lot finally purchased by the Hebrew University. At last the Bedouins were persuaded to come back to the Monastery in the latter part of July when their scrolls and a few fragments were bought. All the attempts made by the Metropolitan to secure the other scrolls failed. From that time on, Mar A. Y. Samuel clung to his manuscripts in spite of the little enthusiasm with which friends to whom he spoke of the manuscripts received the news. On several occasions he was told that the scrolls were

[12] Cf. a similar instance recalled by Fr. Tournay (D, b: p. 206). In the Assumption of Moses (7-30 A. D. according to Charles) Moses instructs Josue to preserve the books (of the Pentateuch) "which, he says, I shall

worthless or, at least, not as old as he thought (A, c: pp. 28 ff.). One item in this account is surprising. Fr. Marmadji of the *École Biblique,* invited by the Metropolitan to look at the manuscripts (end of August), could not bring himself to believe in their antiquity. A few days later he came again with Fr. Van der Ploeg, O.P., who wished to consult a book in the library of St. Mark. Fr. Van der Ploeg recognized one of the scrolls as the book of Isaias and was personally convinced of its antiquity, "but he did not push this investigation further," because his confrères regarded the thing as completely impossible.[13]

The Metropolitan's conviction of the ancient date of his manuscripts was to be fully justified later, when in February, 1948, he entrusted them for examination to the American School (A, b: pp. 46 ff.). The manuscripts were photographed and identified. Their antiquity was promptly recognized by Drs. Trever and Brownlee, and their judgment was confirmed by Dr. Albright (A, b: pp. 51, 55; B, a: pp. 2 f.). Shortly afterwards articles began to appear, dealing with the several manuscripts, with re-

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deliver unto thee: and thou shalt set these in order and anoint them with oil of cedar and put them away in earthen vessels . . ." (Charles: *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha,* II, 415). In his Hebrew commentary on the Apocrypha, Kahana (i. h. l.) explains that the anointing of books was done to preserve them from worms. He refers also to the use of the figure in Horace (*Ars. poet.,* 332): *carmina linenda cedro,* i.e. worthy of immortality; cf. also Persius' phrase (1,42): *cedro digna locutus,* i.e. worthy to be remembered forever. In our case there is no question of the use of cedar oil on the MSS themselves according to the descriptions of those who handled them. But all the other circumstances give the impression of very special care to preserve the documents.

[13] See A, c: p. 28 and p. 35. The identification of the MS of Isaias was made first by Fr. van der Ploeg, so that the Metropolitan knew this in September, 1947. He did not convey this part of the news to the American School when the MSS were taken there for examination on Thursday, April 19, 1948. Dr. Trever thus worked out the identification of the Isaias Scroll independently (A, b: p. 49). But when he told the Syrians and they expressed their delight "to learn that the large scroll was Isaiah" (A, b: p. 50), they had known this for several months, unless Mar A. Y. Samuel kept the news strictly to himself.

markable promptness, satisfying our impatient curiosity in part and making us anxious to see all the material published in the near future.

As may be seen from the statement about Dr. Sukenik at the beginning of this part of the article, his account of the scrolls in the possession of the Hebrew University is somewhat sketchy. We must await the publication of that part of the manuscripts and a more complete introduction. How the publication of the Hebrew University collection will be made, we do not know. Of one thing, however, we may be certain. If the Jerusalem documents are published as was Dr. Sukenik's preliminary report (*Megillot genuzot*), it will be a magnificent publication. Under the conditions prevailing in Jerusalem at the time of the appearance of *Megillot genuzot*, one could hardly expect a book printed on good paper provided with excellent photographs so that the texts on the plates are easy to read for the most part, and valuable notes accompanying the transcribed texts. He deserves our gratitude also for so promptly acquainting the world with the new treasures of the Hebrew University.[14]

From this account, it can be seen that there are now two larger collections of the manuscripts discovered in this cave: the one may be called *the Syrian collection*, which consists of the scrolls and fragments purchased by the Metropolitan Mar A. Y. Samuel. The other one may be referred to as *the Jewish Collection*, which came to the Hebrew University through Dr. Sukenik. Beside these two major collections, there will be also according to all appearances a *third collection* consisting of the large number of fragments gathered by Mr. Harding and Fr. de Vaux—the *Harding-de Vaux Collection:* it is much smaller in size, but nonetheless

[14] It may be of interest to our readers to have the translation of the dedication of the work: "Let Israel remember / its sons and its daughters who gave their life for the freedom of their people and of their land / and among them / my youngest son Mattatiyahu/ and his companion David Shafrinzek / of the Israeli air force, who fought with the Egyptian Navy / when it came to attack the city of Tel Aviv / the 26th of Iyar (5) 708 (= Friday, June 4, 1948) / but to their base they did not return."

very valuable if the first information is confirmed as we have every right to expect.[15]

(*To be continued*)

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[15] We assume that both the Syrian and the Jewish Collections come from the same source, the cave identified above. There is not the slightest evidence for supposing a different origin for any of the MSS. On the contrary, they have so much in common (script, content, material, language) that they must all come from the recently discovered cave.

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## FIFTY YEARS AGO

In the January, 1900, issue of *The American Ecclesiastical Review* the leading article, by Fr. Hugh Henry, of Overbrook, is a brief study of St. Bernard's beautiful hymn "Jesu, Dulcis Memoria." Fr. Henry also contributes his own translation of this hymn and of the two other hymns read in the Office of the Feast of the Holy Name. . . . A lengthy article, signed P.R., is entitled "Trend of Modern Educational Legislation." The article is concerned mainly with the educational statutes of the State of New York. The writer described the institution of the Regents of this State and the powers of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. An account is given of a recent bill, empowering the State to impose public education on defective children, which, however, was not passed. The writer complains of the failure of the state government to assign a share of the taxes to the parochial schools. He does not hesitate to assert that because of the want of religious instruction the public schools produce evil fruits and send out young people into social life and to public offices who are menacing order, morality, and authority. . . . The first instalment of "Luke Delmege" appears, and for the first time the name of the author of this story and of "My New Curate" is given—Canon Sheehan, of Doneraile, Ireland. . . . The editor, Fr. Heuser, contributes an article on "The Perfection of the Religious Teacher" which particularly stresses the need of the virtue of fortitude on the part of the teaching religious. . . . There is an interesting chronicle of the important events in the ecclesiastical world for the past six months. . . . In the Book Review section we find a notice of tthe appearance of the first fascicle of the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*.

F.J.C.

## THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE CHURCH

As a sidelight on the current talk about "separation of Church and State" it is interesting to read the third canon of the second Council of Nicea, held in 787, which provides that every election of a bishop, a priest, or a deacon made by civil rulers is to be considered null and void.[1] In this canon the Council refers to a previous statement of Church policy contained in the thirtieth of the eighty-five Canons of the Apostles, which were added to the **Σύνταγμα τῶν κανόνων** in the sixth century. This canon provides that if any bishop shall have made use of secular powers, and through them shall have obtained a church, he shall be deposed, and shall be cut off from the rest of the Church together with all those in communion with him.

The Council goes on to say that it is necessary that the one who is to be promoted to the office of bishop be chosen by bishops, as was defined by the holy Fathers who met at Nicea, in the first Ecumenical Council, in their fourth canon. In that first Council of Nicea it was said that it was especially fitting that a bishop be ordained by all the bishops who were in the province. If, however, this should prove difficult, either because of urgent necessity, or because of the length of the journey which some would be required to undertake, the Council decreed that at least three should come together, and that the consecration should take place when the others signified their consent by letters. Finally, the confirmation of the acts was attributed by the Council to the Metropolitan in each province.

From this canon of the second Council of Nicea it appears that the Church in the late eighth century felt the need to assert once again its independence of the temporal power. This it asserted as it had already asserted it over four hundred years earlier, when the period of the persecutions had just come to a close. The Church had then been but recently accorded recognition as a lawful organization, after being for some two hundred and fifty years

[1] Cf. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 1759, XIII, 419 D sqq.; Harduin, *Conciliorum Collectio regia maxima*, 1715, IV, 487 C sq.; Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, 1873, III, 476. *Actio VIII, De Sacris electionibus*, can. 3.

under the ban of the old *institutum Neronianum: Christianos esse non licet.*[2]

During the period of the persecutions, when the Church was, at least in contemplation of law, though not always in fact, a forbidden society, it was not hard to understand that it was an entity independent of the State. The very conflict, marked at times by bloody attempts to suppress the Church, served to underline the distinction, to enable men to see the Church as something separate, distinct, and independent from the State.

When Constantius died and his troops acclaimed his son, Constantine, as his successor, while Galerius succeeded Diocletian in the East, the Empire was in a turmoil. The very numerous body of Christians who were suffering under the persecution upon which Galerius had induced Diocletian to embark were quite naturally heartened by the toleration which Constantine practiced, following the example of his father. His part in bringing about the promulgation of the Edict of Milan was certainly not calculated to diminish the respect these persecuted people felt for him. When the other rulers continued, in their territories, to harass them in one way or another, it would be surprising, indeed, if the Christians did not look with ever greater hope to the man who had risen in the northwestern reaches of the Empire and who, with his troops, was moving ever more inexorably toward the eastern capital at Nicomedia to establish himself as sovereign of what seemed to them the world.

Other rulers before him had shown favor to them, but their favor had been confined to not enforcing edicts against the Christians. Here was a man who not only favored them, but was openly aligned on their side. Cordial relations between Church and State, so long desired by the Christian community seemed at last a definite possibility, not to say a reality.

For his own part, Constantine was careful, it seems, to observe the distinction between Church and State. The remark ascribed to him when he sat at table with several bishops of the Church,[3] viz., you are the bishops of the internal matters of the Church, I have been chosen by God to be such in the external things; his exemption of the clergy from the *munera civilia;* and his recogni-

[2] Cf. Tertullian, *Ad nationes,* 1, 7, 4, *MPL,* I, 565 f.; *CSEL,* XX, 66.

[3] Cf. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini,* IV, 23; *GCS,* Eus. 1, 126; *MPG,* XX, 1171 f.

tion of the force of decrees of ecclesiastical courts all pointed to the distinction.

Constantine was, however, as Emperor, still the *Pontifex Maximus* and as such arbiter of the pagan colleges of priests. Though he never actually tried to be *Pontifex Maximus* of the Christians, he did convoke the first Ecumenical Council, and he did enact several imperial constitutions on church matters which appear in the sixteenth book of the Theodosian Code. There was, then, a danger that the distinction between Church and State and between their fields of competence be lost to view. When Constantius II remarked, "My will is a canon," that danger was imminent.

To understand the attitude of Christian emperors undertaking to legislate in matters ecclesiastical, to understand, furthermore, the insistence of the Church in its Councils and its legislation upon its independence, it is enlightening to consider briefly the mentality of the pagan State toward religion and religious organizations. Constantine and Constantius II were, after all, the heirs of a tradition which had existed for many centuries.

To the ancient world the idea of a Church independent of the State was inconceivable. The cold and prosaic religion of Rome, was subordinated to politics and sought, above all, to secure the protection of the gods for the State and to avert the effects of their malevolence by the strict execution of appropriate practices. It entered into a contract with the celestial powers from which mutual obligations arose: sacrifices on one side, favors on the other. The pontiffs, who were also magistrates, regulated the religious practices with the exact precision of jurists.[4]

Indeed, in the sacerdotal colleges of Rome the secular and religious functions were not clearly differentiated. Those who conducted the religious services returned afterward to everyday duties as private citizens or to the direction of public affairs as magistrates, as the ancient pontiffs had done after the solemn festival service.[5]

In Greece, likewise, as Vinogradoff points out,[6] it would be im-

[4] Cf. F. Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, authorized translation (Chicago, 1911), pp. 28 f.

[5] Cf. F. Cumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 42.

[6] Cf. P. Vinogradoff, *Historical Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), II, 96 ff., 172 f., 185.

possible to speak of the connection, still less of the separation of Church and State, because there was no differentiation of the two. The City, in Greece, was a religious as well as a political community. The Greek commonwealths present themselves to our view as households of the gods. Cults provided centers of political grouping.

The fact of belonging to a community imposed religious duties on the citizen. The religious aspect of citizenship may be illustrated from Plato's *Euthyphron,* where the discussion turns on the meaning of religious obligation. The belief in the gods of the City and the coincidence of religion and justice, it was argued by Plato in defense of Socrates, do not go as far as Anytos and Meletos claimed. Yet, from the general notion of justice as regards the gods, i.e. the duty of serving them in a particular way, there followed certain consequences. The importance attached to the oath of allegiance to the State was insisted upon. In addition to the usual public wrongs we find offenses against the gods of the City listed. Two actions could be brought to safeguard these rights—the γραφὴ ἀσεβείας and the γραφὴ ὀροσυλίας. The first was directed against those who subverted the creed and worship of the national deities, and the trial of Socrates is the best known example of it; the other was aimed at offenders who had violated the right of property of the gods.[7]

During the period of the persecutions, in fact, the Christians were accused on the first score, as subverters of the creed and worship of the national deities. They were charged with being "atheists" because they did not worship the gods of the empire. What was really meant, of course, was that they were guilty of *lèse majesté* in not worshipping the deified emperors, whose worship was promoted by every means because of its unifying effect upon the disparate people of the vast territory under the sway of Rome. The similarity between their cases and that of Socrates did not escape the philosopher-Apologists of the Antonine period.[8]

Augustus, prompted by political rather than by religious reasons,

[7] Cf. P. Vinogradoff, *loc. cit.*

[8] Cf. St. Justin M., *Apologia II,* X, 4-5.

had attempted to revive the dying Roman religion.[9] His religious reforms stood in close relation to his moral legislation and the establishment of the imperial dignity. Their tendency was, indeed, to bring the people back to the pious practice of ancient virtues, but they also served to chain them to the new political order. Not even in religious matters was the mind of man to be allowed to escape from the all-embracing controls of the totalitarian State.

The alliance of throne and altar in Europe, Cumont asserts,[10] dates from the time of Augustus. This he finds very characteristic because the restoration of Augustus is so consistent with the Roman spirit which by temperament and tradition demanded that religion should support morality and the State. This was the tradition of which the Roman emperors, become Christians, were the heirs.

It was part of the political program of the Caesars, from the time of Augustus onward, to make the adoption of the Roman divinities general and the government imposed the rules of its sacerdotal law as well as the principles of its public and civil law upon its new subjects. The municipal laws, as a result, prescribed the election of pontiffs and augurs in common with that of the judicial duumvirs.[11]

The worship of the deified emperors, the only official worship required of everyone, as a proof of loyalty, originated, interestingly enough, of its own accord in Asia. It received its inspiration from the purest monarchic tradition, and revived in form and spirit the veneration accorded to the Diadochs by their subjects.[12] It was, indeed, in Asia, at Pergamum and Nicomedia, that Augustus allowed the first temples to himself, on condition that the cult be united to that of the Goddess of Rome, so that he was able to point out to the Roman Senate the political advantages of permitting a cult which would at that time have outraged minds not yet accustomed to the monarchic tradition at Rome.

[9] Cf. E. F. Bruck, "Political Ideology, Propaganda, and Public Law of the Romans: *ius imaginum and consecratio imperatorum*," Address of the *Magister* for the academic year 1948-49 of the Ricobono Seminar of Roman Law in America, Seminar, VII, 11-25.

[10] Cf. F. Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

[11] Cf. F. Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[12] Cf. F. Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 22; E. F. Bruck, *loc. cit.*

The Oriental religions, the "mysteries" of Cybele, of Isis, etc., either had no relation to the State in Rome, or if they did were called upon not to support old municipal or social institutions, but to lend their strength to the authority of a sovereign regarded as the eternal lord of the whole world jointly with God himself.[13]

It is this mentality, then, that religion is something under the control and direction of the State to serve its ends, not something distinct, which appears in the remark of Constantius II, mentioned above, and in the type of laws to be found not only in the sixteenth book of the Theodosian Code, but also in the legislation of Justinian on ecclesiastical matters.

It is against this background that the Christian idea of religion and of the Church as independent of the State developed. Forming a complete society of their own with their own laws, the Christians were in no small measure detached from the customs and legal institutions of Rome. They followed their own laws on matrimony,[14] the origin of the family, that important nucleus of any society. In matters of disputes, on the advice of St. Paul,[15] they preferred to submit to the judgment of the authorities of their community, rather than to the Roman pretor.[16] Daily the episcopal authority intervened in matters of religious discipline.

The Church made laws on the authority of Jesus Christ, its Head. This law existed side by side with public law and private law, and was, in fact, above them, or as the author of the *Liber de laude martyrii*[17] (attributed to Cyprian) said, thus *"suo iure"* Christ has decreed, i.e. above the law of Caesar is a law of Christ which a man must not and cannot betray, not even under torture.[18]

Human law, both public and private, and Christ's law could coexist in the Christian conscience up to a certain point. The Christian, indeed, longed that the two might coexist in their entirety. The law of Christ, however, demanded that idolatrous laws and

[13] Cf. F. Cumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 f.

[14] Cf. Hippolytus, *Philosophumena*, 9, 12, 6.

[15] Cf. *1 Cor.* 6:4 ff.

[16] These are the decrees which Constantine recognized, as mentioned above.

[17] C. 17.

[18] Cf. I. Giordani, *The Social Message of the Early Church Fathers*, transl. Zizzamia (Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1944), pp. 100 f.

those infringing on liberty be abrogated. These, they felt, were really abuses of law, rather than law. Frequently, however, the price of this demand was blood, for it tended to suppress ancient and vital institutions and to transcend territorial boundaries and traditional customs.[19]

To the pagan mind, then, which saw religion and religious organizations as a branch of the authority of the State, Christians were men without a country, who lacked a founder, a national lawgiver, e.g. as Athens was the head of the family-community of the City of Athens, Celsus, the pagan critic, regarded Christians as nothing more nor less than deserters from the Jewish race, from the national laws of Israel.[20]

The Christians retorted that they had a head, a king, a lawgiver, the founder of a new people, the Church, which He had endowed with legislative power that binds and loosens, judges and restrains.[21] Insofar as the Christians were soldiers, they must obey the orders of their general, Christ.[22] This right of Christ, they asserted, is absolute, primordial, superior to the rights of family and state, of blood and country, for it can impose upon us even the sacrifice of ourselves, of our children and our relatives, as it did with Abraham (and "for him Christ had not yet been killed") and with the martyrs.[22]

Here, then, were two tendencies, that of the Roman State to make the spiritual subservient to the temporal, as an instrument of political power holding captive men's minds while their bodies obeyed the will of their rulers and masters, and that of the Christian Church to keep itself independent as it had been constituted by its founder, Jesus Christ. True, there had been a time, under the Antonine Caesars, when the Christian Apologists had thought that some sort of accord with the State might be reached and that the Christian Church might live in harmony with the State. The wish, however, which had been father to that thought was soon

[19] Cf. Giordani, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[20] Cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, II, 1.

[21] Cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, V. 33.

[22] Cf. Pseudo-Cyprian, *De laude martyrii*, c. 18.

[23] Cf. Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164, art. 8; Pound and Plucknett, *Readings on the History and System of the Common Law* (ed. 1927), 72 ff.

dashed to naught. The laws against the Christians remained, and the Church had a struggle even to preserve its existence.

With the transfer of the capital of the Empire to the East and with the conversion of the Emperors to Christianity began the struggle to preserve the existence of the Church as an independent entity. Where previously there had been danger that it would be suppressed there was now danger that it would be absorbed and as the State Religion made subservient to the purposes of the civil power, just as the Roman religion had traditionally been so subservient.

Worse yet, those who should have been insistent upon preserving the traditional independence of the Church, lulled perhaps by the fact that the emperor no longer threatened them with the naked sword, desirous perhaps of their own advancement, turned more and more to the civil power for assistance, sacrificing as they did so their freedom of action. It is these men who sought to use the civil power for their own preferment who are outlawed by the thirtieth of the Canons of the Apostles.

In their attempt to settle all questions locally, either on their own authority or on that of the emperor exercised through his **Σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα**, by-passing the rule of Sardica that all questions might and should finally be appealed to the Head of the Christian Church, these men, thinking to enhance their own power, showed less perspicacity than did the great Archbishop of Canterbury, St. Thomas à Becket. He died for his opposition to the Articles of Clarendon which would, on royal authority, have cut off such right of appeal.[23] His death was not, however, in vain, for subsequently we find that many of the Decretals collected by St. Raymond of Pennafort were concerned with adjusting rights in ecclesiastical matters on claims arising within the borders of England, showing that the right of appeal to the Pope was again recognized.

Given the opportunity to mix into ecclesiastical affairs by appeals to their **Σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα** on the part of the bishops within their territory, the emperors went on to issue decrees in matters ecclesiastical of their own accord. The case of Justinian, who fancied himself quite a theologian, is well known. Where other emperors had contented themselves with issuing decrees on matters primarily of a disciplinary character, he even assumed to

determine questions of Faith. Here, indeed, the independence of the Church was seriously in jeopardy.

In the West the Church was more independent, it is true, but even there constant vigilance to preserve that independence was necessary. When the turbulent situation in the Kingdom of the Franks showed some signs of being settled by the legislation of the new strong man, Charlemagne, the churchmen there suggested and accepted over his signature *capitularia ecclesiastica* on the pattern of his civil legislation. This did, indeed, help to settle conditions in the Church at that time and in that place, but it left open the door to the royal *placet,* and to other interferences which later hindered the activity of the Church.

The right of the Church to choose its own bishops, priests, and deacons, asserted again in the third canon of the second Council of Nicea about the same time Charlemagne was legislating in the West was later seriously contested in the struggle over "investitures." The intervention of the temporal power as "patron" of the Church in days when armed might was necessary to protect its holdings soon became an interference in the inner workings of the Church, especially in the choice of its officers. It was the Head of the Christian Church who intervened and finally succeeded in vindicating the independence of that Church where its local leaders either could not or would not free themselves from that interference.

All too often, however, the best that could be done for the Church under the circumstances, was to effect a compromise, giving something to the temporal power in return for its promise, which might or might not be kept, to abstain from the most intolerable forms of interference with its operations. The independence of the Church was not fully guaranteed, and even when the Church was not actually suppressed or made subservient it was still not free to carry on its work as it wished. At times even those who professed themselves most loyal sons of the Church, thinking that they knew its mission better than those who had been chosen by Christ to represent himself on earth, did most to interfere with its operations by their laws on religious matters.

One lesson appears from all this. So long as the idea persists, as it has since the time of Augustus, that religion is something which is to be placed at the service of the State, the only hope for the preservation of the Church as it was instituted by Christ, i.e. a

separate, distinct, and independent society, is a firm bond of union between the local churches and him who is constituted as the Head of the Church.

Where this principle has been neglected the local churches have tended to come more and more under the sway of the rulers of the territory in which they exist. When the right of appeal to the Head of the Church has been rejected by the bishops of a particular region they have found themselves less and less able to withstand the traditional pressures which seek to make the Church an instrument for the advancement of the political aims of the State. Attempts to cut off the right of appeal by decrees of the temporal power may or may not prove successful, according as the bishops submit to them or not. St. Thomas à Becket died, and apparently lost his fight to resist the cutting off of that right of appeal, but in the end he prevailed. It was left to others, some six Henrys later, to acquiesce and thus separate the Church.

More and more the idea is borne in upon one that those who exalt the temporal power do but subordinate the Church to that power. They do not separate the Church from the State, but rather subordinate the Church to the State, the real separation which they effect is in the Church, with the result that certain parts are not permitted to communicate freely with the other parts of the Mystical Body which are in communion with the Head. Cut off, the separated parts wither and produce no more fruit.

The real distinction, "separation," if one so choose to call it, is preserved by a close union with the Head of the Church who is independent of all temporal rulers and guides and directs an independent organization, which, serving the same people, can and does co-operate with the temporal power, but does so as an equal, not to mention a superior, society.

Superior by divine right, having its power from its Head, its King, its Lawgiver, Christ (whereas the head of the temporal organization has his power from God, but, apparently, through the people who have acquiesced in his rule) the Church must, to be faithful to the trust reposed in it, guard always vigilantly its independence in order that it may carry out the mission assigned to it by the Creator.

This independence is weakened and even destroyed, as is indicated by the canon mentioned at the beginning of this article, when-

ever the temporal power is permitted to interfere in the inner workings of the Church. Such permission to interfere, either by those who actively seek the support of the State in order to obtain ecclesiastical office or by those who do not resist actively attempts by that power to encroach upon the organization of the Church is disastrous as is shown by the course of History. The canon condemns all such interference, asserting vigorously the independence of the Church. It is a canon of an Ecumenical Council, binding upon all.

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## THE HOLY YEAR AND THE CHURCH UNIVERSAL

What happens to the individual happens to society. It is not sufficient for a soul to give itself to God once. The forces of evil ever alive within us demand that the life of a Christian be a ceaseless struggle. The same is true of the Church as a whole, not in itself as the Immaculate Spouse of Christ, holy, without stain or blemish, but in its children continually exposed to temptation and sin. Reformation must be continuous. It is not enough that, once in a while, as in the days of Gregory VII and of the Council of Trent, the Supreme Authority bring about a vast reform of discipline and morals. The Old Man lurks continuously in the heart of every Catholic. The devil does not stay quiet. Christendom must be forever on the reform, and the Jubilee is a call to such universal action.

From every part of the world, even the most remote corners where Catholics are to be found, the Faithful, prepared by their bishops and priests will move Romewards animated by this salutary desire to be renewed in spirit.

—Luigi Valentini, in "The Sacred Jubilee," published in the *Official Bulletin of the Central Committee, Holy Year, MCML,* I, 10 (Nov. 1949), 4.

## THE DIRECTION OF CATHOLIC POLEMIC

What we may call a methodology of Catholic polemic is a badly needed article in our country today. We have come to expect that after every war in which the United States takes part movements and writings against the true Church of God in this country will increase in number and in intensity. The rash of virulent anti-Catholicism, scheduled to make its appearance after the second world war has already broken out. It has come in a much more sinister form than the outbreak which followed the close of the previous world conflict. The pronouncements and the activities of groups like the Ku Klux Klan, however venomous they were in themselves, always carried with them a strong suggestion of the ludicrous. The present anti-Catholic movements and expressions are definitely more dangerous. For the guidance of their flocks and for the edification of God's Church within this country of ours, American priests are bound to take cognizance of these movements. As a group, our priests are bound in conscience to enter into a polemic about the Church, obviously not against individual ranters and bigots, but against the erroneous teachings these men seek to impose upon the American people. For various reasons, however, the art of polemic has not been cultivated to any great extent by American Catholics for a considerable time.

We are sometimes prone to forget that our American Catholic literary tradition had a pre-eminently controversial beginning. Four years before he was consecrated Bishop of Baltimore, John Carroll, the Father of the American hierarchy issued his book, *An Address to the Roman Catholics of the United States of America,* a highly effective refutation of charges made against the Church by the apostate Charles Wharton. Several of the bishops of the early American Church devoted themselves to the task of exposing errors against Catholicism spread abroad by the bigots of their own day. Within this group we find such outstanding ecclesiastical leaders as Bishops John England, Francis Patrick Kenrick, Martin John Spalding, John Baptist Purcell, and John Hughes. The chief literary activity of priests like Fathers John Thayer, Jeremiah O'Callaghan, and Demetrius Gallitzin was likewise consecrated to the defence of the true Church against its

enemies in this country. There is likewise a notable polemic element in the literary production of Orestes Brownson.

From the time of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore down to our own day, however, the defence of the Church and of its teachings against anti-Catholic attacks has not formed by any means a predominant part of our writing and preaching. During that period diatribes against the Church never ceased, but they ceased to find any open support among the leaders in American life. The individuals who wrote and ranted against Catholicism acted as advocates of a doctrinal Protestantism which was already patently bankrupt. They attempted to show that American Catholics were wanting in patriotism and that they pledged political allegiance to a foreign power. By reason of their very ineptitude and because of the manifest futility of the religious concepts they expressed, anti-Catholic polemic during the last years of the nineteenth century and the first years of this one proved to be comparatively innocuous. At any rate it received no great attention from Catholic publicists during this period.

As a result, now that the teachers of the Catholic truth in this country are faced with the necessity of dealing with present-day attacks against that truth and against the Church itself, many of their utterances seem to lack something of the incisive controversial effectiveness which usually marked the controversial works of their predecessors in the priestly office. This, after all, was only to be expected. A group which has for years taken no serious interest in controversy will certainly not, at the very outset at least, manifest a polemic skill equal to that of their predecessors who lived and moved in an atmosphere of religious debate.

There are and there have been certain Catholics who look with marked distaste upon the body of controversial writings and statements issued in favor of the true Church of Jesus Christ. This attitude was rationalized, if not motivated, in some cases at least, by the absurd "state of siege" theory which held that the Church had placed itself in a primarily defensive position since the time of the Council of Trent and which taught that this position was essentially unnatural and disadvantageous to the Church. Actually this anti-controversial bias is as unwarranted as the theory with which it is connected.

Actually it is difficult to see how those who sincerely believe Our Lord's teaching that the world and "the prince of this world" are constantly opposed to Him and to His Church can fail to appreciate the need for a very considerable portion of Christian teaching devoted to the examination and refutation of the contradictions to Christ's message current in the world. It is similarly hard to understand how those who know that Christ rebuked Saul of Tarsus for persecuting Him can fail to realize that the men who devote themselves today to anti-Catholic polemic are likewise persecuting Our Lord. Basically it is the love of charity for Christ which impels the children of His Church to react against attacks made upon it.

Conversely a bias against or even a disinclination towards Catholic responses to anti-Catholic utterances, when found among members of the true Church, is inevitably indicative of remissness in loyalty to Our Lord. People are never disinterested about attacks on things and causes to which they are powerfully attached. It is definitely the business of the Catholic to love his Church so wholeheartedly that he will resent and wish to repel every assault made against it.

A love for the Church, strong enough to impel a man to react against anti-Catholic polemic, is not enough, however, to qualify a man to act as a controversialist in favor of God's kingdom on earth. There is a definite art of apologetic, a skill which a man must study and learn before he can successfully and effectively answer attacks against the Catholic Church. It involves a method described with marvelous accuracy and clarity by the Church's *Doctor Communis.* It has been practiced with magnificent results by the great champions of Catholic truth and orthodoxy since the earliest days of Catholic history.

The most important element in the study of Catholic polemic is obviously the knowledge of the ultimate direction of the controversy itself. No Catholic publicist can hope to deal adequately with attacks against the Church unless he understands very clearly the definite purpose he should strive to attain in his answers to these attacks. That purpose is the work of charity itself. The Catholic publicist achieves that purpose when he works for the same objective which guided St. Thomas Aquinas in the writing of his *Summa contra gentiles,* his greatest polemic writing. St.

Thomas designated this ultimate objective when he said, *"propositum nostrae intentionis est veritatem, quam fides catholica profitetur, pro nostro modulo manifestare, errores eliminando contrarios."*[1]

The great Peter the Lombard envisioned his *Libri sententiarum* as a work of Catholic polemic. In describing the intentions which motivated the production of this work, Peter speaks first of his desire "to defend our faith against the errors of carnal and bestial men *(carnalium atque animalium hominum)* with the shields of the Tower of David, or rather to show that it is thus defended." Peter the Lombard describes his work as motivated by the *"zelus domus Dei,"* and by "the charity of Christ."[2]

The work of Catholic polemic is dictated by charity for Our Lord precisely because it is a part of the charitable and apostolic function of giving men the message of Jesus Christ. The Church, as a living teacher of the divine message, cannot present this doctrine in a vital and adequate manner except in so far as it points out the current and popular errors opposed to it. Thus, for example, the people of Christ would receive only an inadequate statement of the divine teaching about the true Church of Jesus Christ were the champions of Christian truth to allow to pass unchallenged and unrefuted widespread assertions that association with Our Lord is to be found in some invisible society. A living statement of God's revelation implies and involves a recognition of and a response to any errors contrary to that revelation which might be current among those to whom the faith is being preached.

Such is the basic attitude of the traditional Catholic polemic. The Catholic controversialist enters the field, not merely to discredit attacks against the true Church of Jesus Christ, but ultimately to set forth the particular portion of Catholic truth which the attacker has misstated and denied. Successful Catholic polemic, that which is pleasing to Our Lord and which alone is valuable to the Church, is not a merely negative thing. It is a part, and a necessary part, of Catholic teaching.

Obviously, under these conditions, it is a matter of primary moment to analyze the specific attack being leveled against the Church and its doctrines. Frequently this analysis proves to be a

[1] *Summa contra gentiles*, Lib. I, cap. 2.

[2] *Libris IV sententiarum prologus.*

somewhat difficult affair. The current charges against the Catholic Church, as found in the non-Catholic religious press and often, too, in ordinary newspapers, are not remarkable for their logical coherence. Yet, through them all there runs a definite set of accusations and pseudo-grievances. It is definitely the business of the teacher of Catholic truth to take cognizance of these.

Thus, merely to choose a few examples at random, many of the anti-Catholic agitators of our own day attack the Church because, they say, our hierarchy exercises a control over our lives, Catholic moral forbids certain procedures which are encouraged by some competent medical practitioners, and Catholic schools tend to bring Catholic children into closer association among themselves and to separate them from others. Each one of these assertions is being employed in a campaign to spread hatred of the Church among the people of our own country. So it is that each of these, and others as important, should be the concern of those who are charged with the privilege and the responsibility of teaching Catholic truth.

The Catholic publicist who sets out to answer attacks made against the Church in terms of these assertions must, if he is to be faithful to his own vocation, be interested primarily in the task of expounding the truth of which the anti-Catholic statement is either a caricature or a denial. For this reason he should answer anti-Catholic charges that the hierarchy seeks power by an accurate statement of the authority Our Lord entrusted to the Pope and to the bishops in His Church. Assertions that the Church is opposed to "progress" in its rejection of such moral monstrosities as abortion and the murder of the sick should be opposed by firm and clear statements of the natural law on these points. Charges that Catholic schools tend to develop a close social union among Catholic children should be met with an explanation of the kind of association Christ Himself instituted and commanded among His disciples.

Attention to individual charges against the Church in no way implies any explicit notice of individual bigots. Most of these individuals are notorious publicity-seekers. Their unsavory business thrives on the attention they receive from Catholic publicists. Furthermore these individuals show a striking lack of originality. Except in the rare case where a person of national importance turns against the Church in open attack, no particular good is to

be gained by noticing the individual attacker. The anti-Catholic utterances are definitely standardized products.

The art of Catholic polemic, however, demands that attention be called to the intent of the charges themselves. The current crop of anti-Catholic writers and lecturers work towards a precise objective. They are not merely content with pointing out what they imagine to be wrong in Catholic teaching or practice. They strive to unite non-Catholic Americans against their Catholic fellow-citizens. They seek some sort of repression or persecution of the Catholic Church in this country. Regardless of the subjective attitudes of individual attackers, their work itself tends definitely in that direction. It is the business of the Catholic publicist to take cognizance of this fact.

One of the most vociferous and hence one of the best known among the sorry crew of anti-Catholic agitators is reported to be preparing a somewhat novel attack on the Catholic priesthood. He has assembled a formidable array of quotations from the literature of moral theology. These quotations deal with material on the sixth commandment and on the sacrament of matrimony. Apparently he hopes to bring people to imagine that our priests show an unhealthy interest in these subjects.

Such a book can, if it is ever published, be an occasion of immense benefit to the cause of Catholic truth. It will enable the Catholic controversialists who will be called upon to take notice of the attack to give a very complete and effective statement of the nature and the content of Catholic moral teaching. The Catholic publicist will first have to point out the existing perspective, to show that the sort of teachings to which the bigot refers form a rather small but a quite important part of Catholic moral theology. He will have a magnificent opportunity to show that this teaching is part of the training given to Catholic confessors, training to be used in the administration of the sacrament of penance. He can employ this occasion to bring home with great clarity the fact that the sacrament of penance deals with real sin. In short, he will be in a position to bring out that lesson which Gilbert Keith Chesterton expressed so forcefully in *The Chief Mourner of Marne*. The incomparable Father Brown says:

For it seems to me that you only pardon the sins that you don't really think sinful. You only forgive criminals when they commit what you don't regard as crimes, but rather as conventions. So you tolerate a conventional duel, just as you tolerate a conventional divorce. You forgive because there isn't anything to be forgiven. . . . Go on your own primrose path pardoning all your favorite vices and being generous to your fashionable crimes; and leave us in the darkness, vampires of the night, to console those who really need consolation; who do things really indefensible, things that neither the world nor they themselves can defend; and none but a priest will pardon.[3]

The Catholic who is privileged to defend the Church and its teaching against a book such as our anti-Catholic agitator is said to be preparing will have the opportunity to show how the Church works consistently with its own divine teaching to the effect that sins are forgiven in the sacrament of penance through a definite juridical absolution. The confessor must know what a sin is in order to exercise his absolving power. The Church does not exempt its confessors from the study of any material which they will need to know in order to perform their sacerdotal works for the glory of Christ.

There are certain faults which almost completely nullify the value of those works of Catholic polemic which they infect. The most glaring of these is the tendency to use the polemic itself as an instrument to score a point against some rival viewpoint within the Catholic Church itself. Thus Newman's *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk* was ostensibly a defense of the Church against the charges leveled against it by the English politician, Gladstone. Unfortunately, however, Newman himself fashioned it also as a kind of side attack on his Catholic fellow-countrymen who had worked for the definition of papal infallibility in the Vatican Council.[4] As a result the booklet lost most of its effectiveness as a statement of Catholic doctrine and as a defense of the Catholic Church. Occasionally, even now, we see this procedure repeated, and always with disastrous results for the presentation of Catholic truth.

[3] Chesterton, *The Secret of Father Brown* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1935), p. 803.

[4] Cf. the article "John Henry Newman and the Vatican Definition of Papal Infallibility," in *AER*, CXIII, 4 (Oct. 1945), 300-320.

Another weakness in some contemporary Catholic polemic is the tendency to interpret every outburst against the Catholic Church as an attack against all religion. Some non-Catholic groups have used a variation of this tactic as a highly effective debating procedure. The Catholic controversialist, however, is not primarily concerned with cleverness in repartee, but with truth. An attack against the true Church of Jesus Christ should be looked upon and dealt with for what it is. The defender of Catholic truth will only weaken his position if he gives the impression that the struggle for Christ in this world is in some way a joint concern of the Catholic Church and of other religious societies. The Church and the Church alone is Christ's kingdom, His Mystical Body on earth. Any effective defense of the Church or of its teachings must take explicit cognizance of this paramount truth.

In his paper, "Elements of Modern Religious Controversy," Bishop John Cuthbert Hedley, O.S.B., considered Catholic polemical writings chiefly from the point of view of converts who might be brought into the Church by means of it.[5] This, of course, will always be an important aspect of this type of work. There is, however, still another function of this labor which must be kept in mind. The Catholic polemist, in setting forth the truth about points which have been misstated by enemies of the Church is likewise defending and protecting the faith of those within the fold of Christ. These children of God's household will profit also from a vigorous and accurate defense of Catholic truth.

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[5] In *AER*, XVI, 3 (March, 1897), 241-53.

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MISSION INTENTION

"Mission, Threatened by Atheists" is the Mission Intention for the month of January, 1950.

# Answers to Questions

## OBLIGATION OF *ORATIO IMPERATA*

*Question:* Is the *Oratio imperata* of obligation only at parochial Masses, strictly so called, or should it be said at all Masses, both public and private?

*Answer:* All priests, secular and regular, are obliged to say the Collect prescribed by the Ordinary of the diocese at all Masses, private as well as public, celebrated within the territory under the jurisdiction of that prelate. The Congregation of Sacred Rites has emphasized this obligation as extending to the churches and oratories of regulars, even of otherwise exempt orders and congregations (S.R.C., No. 2613, *ad 1*). The standing of the *imperata* as *simpliciter imperata, pro re gravi,* or *pro re gravi etiam in duplicibus I classis* determines the days on which the prescribed oration is to be said or omitted. There may be some question as to the obligation of adding the *Oratio imperata* in Masses said in private oratories or chapels subsidiary to the main chapel of an institution. Our own *votum* is for holding to the obligation, although in *casu* the local calendar need not be followed (cf. *AER,* CXIX, 5 [Nov. 1948], 386). Regulations governing the *Oratio imperata* are contained in a decree of the Congregation of Sacred Rites, No. 3985, March 5, 1898.

## SUBSTITUTION OF AN OFFICE *CUM SOCIIS*

*Question:* The titular feast of my parish comes during the diocesan retreat. For me, this feast is a proper one and a double of the first class. When the Office is said in common as one of the public exercises of the retreat, do I fulfill my obligation by reciting the Office with the rest of the clergy, thereby reducing my special parish feast to the rank of the feast of the day in the common ordo?

*Answer:* The reply to this query may be deduced from the following passage in the *Compendium theologiae moralis* of Sabetti-Barrett: "Sola ratio societatis sat rationabilis apparet" for reciting an office other than that proper to one's own ordo. This holds *a fortiori* when there is question of reciting the Office in common as an exercise of the diocesan retreat (Sabetti-Barrett, p. 578).

## *NE QUID NIMIS*

*Question:* I have noticed a growing tendency among priests to exaggerated gestures and unduly loud tone of voice in the celebration of Mass. Prayers are said so that they are almost shouted. Bows are performed so low that the celebrant's head is about on a level with his knees. Hands are elevated far above the head "to help the people in the back of the church to see the priest better." The consecration is prolonged with an extremely slow genuflection and the lifting of the Host and chalice is held to a full minute. Such actions lead to much *admiratio populi.* Some members of the congregation wonder why all priests are not as pious as those whom they see celebrating Mass in this exaggerated fashion.

*Answer:* No reply is needed to this pertinent observation of our reader save the admonition to those guilty of the practices which he mentions, *serventur rubricae.* What is to be said at Mass in a clear and intelligible voice is not to be shouted but to be pronounced in such a way as to be heard but not in so raucous a fashion as to disturb the congregation. Liturgical authors define the lowest bow as one in which the body is so bent that the hands could touch the knees. When the hands are to be elevated, they are never raised above the height of the shoulders (*Rit. serv.,* IV, 3). The genuflections incident to the consecration are not to be hurried as the rubric prescribes they are to be in the nature of adorations but neither should they be unduly prolonged. As to the elevations, neither the Host nor the chalice is to be held aloft longer than required for the congregation to see them (cf. *Rit. serv.,* VIII, 5, 7). Martinucci (*Lib.* I, Cap. xxxv) has an interesting list of mistakes commonly observed in the celebration of Mass which would furnish material for an *examen* to those who commit the pseudo-pious solecisms enumerated by our correspondent.

## RINGING THE BELL AT THE COMMUNION TIME

*Question:* What about ringing the bell for the Communion of the people, that is, at the *Domine non sum dignus* which is said just before the actual administration of Holy Communion? I have been told that this is incorrect.

*Answer:* The rubrics of the Missal prescribe only two ringings of the bell at Mass, one at the *Sanctus* and the other at the Eleva-

tions. The Congregation of Sacred Rites (Oct. 25, 1922) approves of a third ringing as a warning shortly before the consecration. This is usually done with us at the *Hanc igitur*. All other sounding of the bell is matter of custom only and this includes the ringing of the bell as a signal for the people at the Communion of the celebrant. An additional bell at the *Domine non sum dignus* before the Communion of the people must be considered as a custom *praeter rubricas* and judged accordingly.

WILLIAM J. LALLOU

## PRIZEFIGHTING AND BOXING

*Question:* What is to be said about the lawfulness of prizefighting and boxing?

*Answer:* Boxing, in the sense of giving and parrying light blows without any intention of striking the opponent severely or inflicting injury, is lawful for the purpose of exercise and recreation, and in order to test one's skill in self-defense. But it is difficult to reconcile prizefighting, as we have it today, with Catholic principles of morality. For, undoubtedly, the purpose of the fighters is to deal each other severe blows, and if possible to score a "knock-out." That grave injuries frequently come to those who follow prizefighting as a career is well known from experience. The fact that both contestants willingly submit to the probability of being severely pummelled does not alter the case, since a man has no right to allow another to beat him, apart from justifiable punishment. Neither does the fact that the combatants will be paid a large sum of money justify a means that is unlawful.

Even boxing may easily assume sinful features. Speaking of this sport, Damen says: "This type of contest can easily become unlawful, either venially or mortally, in accordance with the degree of the more or less probable danger of injury or even of death—for example, if the due cautions are not observed or if the contest tends to the "knock-out" of one of the fighters" (*Theologia moralis* [Rome, 1947], I, n. 586).

This opinion may seem somewhat severe in view of the widespread conviction of the American people that prizefighting is a "good, clean sport." Yet, it is difficult to see how any other inter-

pretation of the fifth commandment can be given. Needless to say, pastoral prudence will often suggest that people be left in good faith on this point.

## CATHOLICS ASSISTING AT AN INVALID MARRIAGE

*Question:* If a Catholic assists at the attempted marriage of a Catholic before a non-Catholic clergyman does he incur the same excommunication that is incurred by the Catholic party of the marriage? The reason for believing that he may incur this penalty is the statement of Canon 2231 that in certain circumstances those who concur in the perpetration of a delict incur the same penalty as the chief culprit.

*Answer:* According to Canon 2231 only those co-operators incur the same penalty as the principal offender who co-operate in the ways mentioned in Canon 2209, §§ 1-3. Now, the mere assistance at an attempted marriage of a Catholic before a non-Catholic clergyman would not put one in any of the categories mentioned in these paragraphs; though it would do so if it constituted an inducement to the marriage so that otherwise the Catholic party would not attempt it.

However, it is well to remember that, even though a penalty is not incurred, the assistance of a Catholic at the attempted marriage of a Catholic before a non-Catholic minister, except in very rare cases, is so proximately a cause of grave scandal and even a manifestation of contempt of the authority of the Church that it must be regarded as a grave sin. A decree of the Congregation of the Propaganda in 1874 stated that regularly such attendance is forbidden, though it added that it could be tolerated for the sake of civil duty only *(civilis officii causa tantum)*, provided there be no scandal, danger of perversion, or contempt of ecclesiastical authority (*Collectanea S. Cong. de Prop. Fide*, n. 1410). In our country today the danger of scandal and contempt of ecclesiastical authority are almost always present. Hence, when priests are asked about the lawfulness of attending the marriage of a Catholic relative or friend in a non-Catholic church, the answer should practically always be "No."

Davis says: "Assistance at a mixed marriage in a Protestant church would not be tolerated, since this would be co-operating in

violating a serious church law which forbids mixed marriages without dispensation, and such a marriage would now be invalid" (*Moral and Pastoral Theology* [London, 1945], I, 286). Treating the subject more fully, Bancroft says: "It is certain that Catholics may not be present at such marriages when their presence contains, manifests or implies an approval of the marriage. It seems that, barring other dangers and a sinful intention, friends and distant relatives may be present for a more grave reason in proportion to the greater danger of scandal. Near relatives, and especially parents, brothers and sisters, however, would seldom have a reason justifying their presence, because of the grave scandal necessarily connected with it, because of their obligation to admonish the one who is sinning, and in some cases, because of contempt for the regulations of the Church" (*Communication in Religious Worship with Non-Catholics* [Catholic University of American Press, Washington, D. C., 1943], p. 129).

## THE PASTOR'S RIGHT TO CONFIRM

*Question:* When a pastor wishes to administer Confirmation to a dying person in virtue of the recent concession of the Pope, must he have the permission of the bishop in order that he may confer the sacrament validly?

*Answer:* Since the Sovereign Pontiff directly deputes pastors to administer Confirmation in certain circumstances, the pastor does not need the permission of the bishop to confirm validly and licitly when the requisite conditions are realized. However, if there is even a probability that the bishop will be able to come and give Confirmation to the dying person, the pastor must take measures to find out whether his services can be procured, and he himself may administer the sacrament only when he discovers that the Ordinary or another bishop is not available. For one of the conditions for the validity of the sacrament laid down by the decree issued on Sept. 14, 1946, by the Sacred Congregation on the discipline of the Sacraments, empowering pastors to confirm, is that the diocesan bishop cannot be had or is legitimately prevented from being able to confer Confirmation himself, and that there is at hand no other bishop in communion with the Apostolic See, even though only titular, who could be substituted for him without grave in-

convenience. Of course, the Ordinary can lay down general rules, if he wishes, determining when he will or will not be available, so that it may not be necessary to consult him for each individual case. But, in any event, when a pastor is sure that a bishop cannot be obtained to confirm a person who is dying within the limits of his parish, he has the right to confirm validly and licitly, without making further inquiries or seeking any permission.

## RESTITUTION TO AN INSURANCE COMPANY

*Question:* Many years ago Martha defrauded an insurance company to the extent of $2000. Since that time the company has gone out of existence, but its assets and liabilities have been taken over by another company. She now wishes to make restitution, but realizes that it would be almost impossible to find all the owners of the first company. Should she make restitution to the second company or to the poor?

*Answer:* The owners of the second company would seem to have no right to the restitution money, since they purchased the assets of the first company according to their value at the time of the purchase, and that did not include the money which Martha unjustly retained. Hence, the owners of the first company are the persons who have the right to the restitution. But, since they cannot be found—at least without grave difficulty—Martha should give the amount of her unjust transaction to the poor.

FRANCIS J. CONNELL, C.SS.R.

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### MARY'S WORSHIP OF THE INCARNATE WORD

She alone welcomed the King when He entered His realm. Our Lord was content with this. The greeting which He received from the faith and love of one immaculate soul was more adequate to His infinite holiness and greatness than the material grandeur of a palace, the homage of courtiers, and the acclamations of an unintelligent multitude. The Virgin-Mother represented the whole human race at that moment. Her homage compensated for the absence of all other.

—Bishop James Bellord, in *Meditations on Christian Dogma*, 3rd Edition (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1948), I, 351.

# Analecta

The Holy Office has authoritatively declared through a response promulgated in the issue of the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* of Sept. 6, 1949, that the provision of canon 1088, § 1, is binding also in the case of the marriages of baptized non-Catholics. This provision requires for the validity of the marriage the presence of the parties in person or by proxy. The date of the response is June 30, 1949.[1]

In a declaration of Aug. 11, 1949,[2] the Holy Office laid down norms regulating the marriages of communists. The declaration points to the fact that since the parties are the ministers of the Sacrament of Matrimony and the priest is the official witness, a priest may assist at their marriages according to the restrictions of canons 1065 and 1066, unless the communists involved are those who have embraced and propagate the materialistic doctrine of communism. Since these are apostates, the norms of canons 1061, 1102, and 1109 govern a marriage in which one of these is involved as a party, that is, the marriage must be treated as a mixed marriage, the ante-nuptial agreements must be obtained, a dispensation must be sought, and the marriage must take place without sacred rites and outside the church edifice, except as relaxation is permitted by canons 1102 and 1109; but canon 1102 excludes in every case the accompanying nuptial Mass.

A decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, dated Aug. 18, 1949,[3] restates the provision of the decree of the same Sacred Congregation of March 13, 1942, under which it was permitted that wherever olive oil or beeswax was either entirely unobtainable or obtainable only at great inconvenience and expense, other oils could be used for the sanctuary lamp, preferably vegetable oils, and if even these were unavailable, then even an electric light. This portion of the decree is not affected by the limitation which the decree of the past summer introduced. The modification consists in stating a minimum number of beeswax candles required for the celebration of sacred functions. No such minimum was set in the previous decree. It provided that the number of beeswax candles could be reduced, the deficiency to be supplied by other

[1] *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XLI (1949), 427.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 427.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 476.

forms of light. Under the recent decree, there must be provided two beeswax candles for a private Mass, and four for a chanted Mass, a solemn Mass, and for the Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, the deficiency to be supplied by other forms of light.

Decrees were issued on June 30, 1949,[4] declaring revoked at the end of 1949 all faculties permitting the reduction or the modification of the obligations of celebrating Mass. These decrees were issued by the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Church and the Sacred Congregation of the Council. The decree of the latter excepted from its operation the quinqennial faculties granted Ordinaries.

A suspension of indulgences and faculties outside Rome was promulgated in an Apostolic Constitution of July 10, 1949.[5] The suspension of indulgences affected only their application to the living and even this application was not suspended in the case of the following indulgences: the indulgence granted *in articulo mortis;* the *Angelus* indulgences; the indulgence attached to the visit to the Blessed Sacrament during the Forty Hours' devotion; the indulgence available to the companion when the Blessed Sacrament is carried to the sick; the indulgence attached to the recitation of the Pope's Holy Year Prayer (viz., a partial indulgence of seven years for each recitation and a plenary indulgence, under the usual conditions, for daily recitation over a period of a month); the Portiuncula indulgence in reference to the visit to the actual chapel at Assisi; and the indulgences which pontificating prelates are authorized to impart. The suspension affects the Oriental Church and extends to partial as well as plenary indulgences. Moreover, the Constitution forbade under penalty of automatic excommunication the publication during the Holy Year of any indulgence except the Jubilee indulgences and those mentioned above as excepted.

The Constitution also specified certain exceptions in regard to the suspension of faculties outside Rome. All faculties contained in the Code remain effective, as well as the faculties granted for the external forum to Apostolic Nuncios and Delegates, to local Ordinaries, and to Religious Superiors. The faculties granted for the internal forum by the Sacred Penitentiary can be used only in behalf of those who, in the judgment of the Ordinary or the confessor, cannot go to Rome without serious inconvenience.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 373, 374.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 337.

The faculties of the ordinary and extraordinary confessors in Rome and its suburbs are specified in another Apostolic Constitution, *Decessorum Nostrorum,* also issued on July 10, 1949[6] These faculties are given primarily to the ordinary and the extraordinary minor penitentiaries (i.e., the confessors designated by the Sacred Penitentiary), but they are extended also to the Prelates of the Sacred Penitentiary, to the Officials of the Sacred Penitentiary habitually approved for the hearing of confessions in Rome, to pastors of Rome and its suburbs, to the rectors and the confessors of the national churches when approved by the Vicariate, to a limited number of confessors to be appointed for the hearing of confessions in the more celebrated churches of Rome, and to a limited number of confessors in religious Orders and exempt Congregations. The faculties are not limited to occult penalties, but they may be exercised by confessors who are not penitentiaries only in the sacramental forum; penitentiaries may use them in the internal extra-sacramental forum, provided the particular faculty does not expressly require sacramental confession (this specification of the forum appears in the *Monita* issued Sept. 17, 1949,[7] by the Sacred Penitentiary).

The faculties extend to the absolution of censures and sins reserved by law to the Roman Pontiff or to the Ordinary and to censures imposed by man *(ab homine),* with the following exceptions: censures most specially reserved to the Holy See; censures imposed personally by the Roman Pontiff; the censure binding a priest who wishes reconciliation as a layman while asserting the impossibility of abandoning residence under the same roof with the woman with whom he has attempted marriage; the public censure specially reserved to the Holy See binding a prelate enjoying ordinary jurisdiction in the external forum; the censure binding publicly argumentative heretics and schismatics unless they promise to repair the scandal; and the censure binding those who embraced the materialistic doctrine of communism unless they shall have sincerely and efficaciously repented.

The absolution of Masons and members of similar sects is made dependent on their denouncing, or their promise to denounce, priests and religious who are members of the sect and on their surrendering, or their promise to surrender, all the paraphernalia

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 340.

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 513.

and documents pertaining to the sect which they have in their possession. Restitution, a compromise obtained from the Holy See, or the promise to seek such a compromise must be required of a penitent who has unlawfully come into possession of the property or the rights of the Church.

Confessors who enjoy the faculties of the penitentiaries can also commute all private vows including those reserved to the Holy See, without prejudice to the rights of third parties and provided that the substituted pious work shall, with a force equal to that of the vow, provide a defense against sin. Included in this faculty is the religious vow, even though solemnly made, of perfect and perpetual chastity, but only in the case of one who has been dispensed from the obligations of the other religious vows.

The faculties of penitentiaries extend to irregularities arising from occult delicts, none excluded, but only in the sacramental forum and only for the purpose of permitting the exercise of Orders received when otherwise there would be danger of infamy or scandal. They include also the power to dispense in the sacramental forum only from the occult impediment of consanguinity, arising from illicit intercourse, in the third and even the second degree and even when either of these is combined with the first degree, but only for the purpose of validating a marriage. They also comprise the power to dispense, for a marriage contracted or about to be contracted from the occult impediment of crime (exclusive of that arising from homicide).

The penitentiaries are authorized to commute the visits to the basilicas by substitution or omission; commutation of the condition requiring the reception of Holy Communion is permissible only in the case of the sick who are physically prevented from complying with it.

The faculties can be used in the case of faithful belonging to the Oriental rite; the power to commute the visits can be used in the case of one and the same penitent as often as the reasons justify it; the other faculties can be used only once in the case of one and the same penitent. For that reason, the *Monita* require the confessors to question the penitent in reference to a previous jubilee confession and absolution.

The Sacred Penitentiary has specified the faculties that shall be enjoyed by ten pilgrim confessors, designated by the Sacred Peni-

tentiary or by their own bishop, for the confessions of their fellow pilgrims.[8] These correspond largely with the faculties enjoyed by the penitentiaries. Other faculties, issued on the same date, Sept. 17, 1949,[9] are made available to all pilgrim confessors provided they have been approved in their own dioceses for the hearing of the confessions of the faithful of both sexes. Both sets of faculties are limited, however, to the sacramental forum. The contrast between the two sets of faculties appears principally in the following items: the less extensive faculties do not comprise cases involving public censures; they do not include the right to commute private vows reserved to the Holy See or the religious vow of perfect and perpetual chastity even in the case in which a dispensation from the other vows has intervened: they do not touch irregularities or impediments to marriage. Moreover, even the extensive faculties of the select pilgrim confessors do not extend to censures imposed by man *(ab homine)*, though they do include cases in which the delict has come to the notice of the judge in the external forum.

The faculties enjoyed by all pilgrim confessors correspond with those given by the Apostolic Constitution *Decessorum Nostrorum* to the confessors of Rome who were not classed with the penitentiaries, except that the Roman confessors were given the power to dispense from irregularities in the same measure as were the penitentiaries. They also correspond with the faculties given the jubilee confessor of those exempted from traveling to Rome by the Apostolic Constitution *Iam promulgato*, of July 10, 1949.[10] The jubilee confessor chosen by these exempted persons is limited further, however, in that he has no power over the censure resulting from formal and external heresy, and his power to commute private unreserved vows seems restricted to nuns, Sisters, women oblates, women belonging to Third Orders Regular, and girls and women living a common life under the same roof. On the other hand, not only these are exempted but also hermits observing the cloister, captives, prisoners, inmates of reformatories, the sick, those in charge of prisons and detention homes, workingmen, the aged who have reached the age of seventy, and those whom iniquitous laws prevent from leaving their country to make the pilgrimage. For these, other works of piety are to be substituted by the Ordinary

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 519. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 518. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 345.

in person or through confessors to take the place of the visits to the Roman basilicas.

Under date of Oct. 1, 1949,[11] the Sacred Congregation of the Sacraments issued an instruction to local Ordinaries to govern them in the requests for four types of indults: the indult permitting a private oratory; the privilege of the portable altar; the indult permitting the celebration of Mass without a server; and the indult permitting the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament in private chapels. In laying down norms governing the granting and the control of the first type of indult just mentioned, the instruction notes that at the end of 1950 Ordinaries shall send to the Sacred Congregation a list of the private oratories in their respective dioceses, together with the canonical titles under which they have been established.[12] In reference to the portable altar, it states that the faithful do not comply with their obligation of assisting at Mass by their presence at a Mass celebrated on a portable altar unless the indult specifically permits this or unless the Mass is celebrated in the fields *(sub dio)*.[13] The instruction further insists that the privilege of the portable altar should not be requested in the case of infirm priests if the need can be met by permission to celebrate Mass at home in a proper place. It observes with regard to the rigor with which petitions for the permission to celebrate Mass without a server will be treated that it is now the practice of His Holiness to command the insertion in such indults of a clause requiring the presence of someone to assist at the Mass.[14]

On July 14, 1949,[15] our Holy Father delivered an allocution to the women members of Catholic Action in which he praised their work during the forty years that had elapsed since their foundation, a work aptly characterized by their motto, *"Fortes in Fide."* But he insisted that many changes had occurred during those forty years, many of which were traceable to war, but which were principally the result of a more profound cause, the infiltration of materialism into the life of the family and of the rising generation. The problems created by the consequences of this insidious attack provided a peremptory challenge to their initiative and their ingenuity. In the meeting of that challenge he said that he wished them to labor for social justice and the economic stabilization of

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 493.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 501.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 504.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 508.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 415.

the family, and in this direction he commended the work of their schools of domestic science while he urged them to devote untiring efforts to the preparation of their children for their vocations, inclusive of the vocation to the religious life. But with this preliminary dedication he exhorted them to concern themselves unstintingly in making their children firm in their faith by word and by example and in training them in obedience and self-control, especially in regard to the cultivation of the virtue of purity. In closing, he conferred on them the Apostolic Benediction.

On July 17, 1949,[16] our Holy Father addressed a radio message to the faithful of the Diocese of Berlin. In it he pointed to the ruins which they beheld as a terrifying warning against the surrender to earth. He insisted that God and surrender to God must be man's final objective. Reason for hope he found, however, in inspiring elements in their life that clamored for recognition, such as their faith that persevered in spite of the failure of earthly hopes, the defense of virtue even to the death, the love of neighbor, a loyal Catholic youth, self-sacrificing parents and devoted priests. For such heroism the highest praise is no more than a just reward. Therefore, our Holy Father willingly told them of his fatherly appreciation of their faith and their charity, of their perseverance and patience in remaining loyal to God and His commandments, to Christ and His Church, and this under difficulties so trying to weak humanity.

On Sept. 4, 1949,[17] our Holy Father addressed a radio message to the German delegates gathered at Bochum in Westphalia for the seventy-third observance of *Katholikentag* (the German National Catholic Convention). In the address our Holy Father outlined for the study of the delegates a five-point program for the reconstruction of the social order. The first point proffered the co-operation of the Church and called upon the work of Bishop von Kettler of Mainz as incontrovertible evidence of the availability and of the value of such co-operation. The second point insisted on the three necessary pillars of such a social program, namely, truth, justice, and charity. The third point adverted to the necessity of resolving the conflict between capital and labor. The fourth point stressed the inseparability of Christianity into departments based on the welfare of the individual and on the welfare of society,

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 424. [17] *Ibid.*, p. 458.

since in either case it is the Christian soul that is the object of concern. The fifth point protested that the workingman must not be enslaved in atheistic materialism but that every sacrifice must be made to save him for God and Christ. The address closed with the conferring of the Apostolic Benediction.

On Sept. 4, 1949,[18] our Holy Father addressed a radio message also to the Swiss gathered in a Convention of the Popular Union at Lucerne. In it he praised the strength the Swiss had displayed throughout the social evolutions of the past half century. He exhorted them not to forget their strength but to use it in impressing the Christian character on the public interrelations of their fellowmen and in opposing materialism through the manifestation of the vivifying richness of the faith.

Letters Apostolic have established St. Bernard Realino as a patron of two cities: those dated Dec. 15, 1947,[19] have conferred this honor on the Diocese and City of Lecce where he presided as Rector of the Jesuit College and defended the Faith against the Reformers; letters dated March 25, 1949,[20] have made St. Bernard Patron with honors equal to those of St. Bernard of Siena, who was the principal Patron of the Diocese and City of Carpi, where St. Bernard Realino was born.

St. Adelaide was made the principal Patroness of the town of Seltz in the Diocese of Strasbourg in virtue of Apostolic Letters dated Feb. 27, 1948.[21]

The rank of Minor Basilica was conferred on several churches by Apostolic Letters now published in late numbers of the *Acta*. These were: the parochial and collegiate church of St. Mary Major in the town of Piedimonte d'Alife in the Diocese of Alife (in virtue of Letters issued Dec. 14, 1945);[22] the cathedral church of St. Agatha in the Diocese of Gallipoli (in virtue of Letters dated June 13, 1946);[23] the church of the Blessed Virgin of Mercy in the town of Cuzco of the Diocese of Cuzco in Peru (in virtue of Letters dated Dec. 2, 1946);[24] the cathedral church of the Annunciation of the Diocese of Acireale in Sicily (in virtue of Letters dated Nov. 27, 1948);[25] the abbatial church of the abbacy *nullius* of San Maurizio di Agaune in Switzerland (in virtue of Letters

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 454.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 408.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 443.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 349.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 406.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 440.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 442.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 350.

dated Nov. 30, 1948);[26] the parochial church of St. Mary Virgin in the city of Igualada in the Diocese of Vich, Spain (in virtue of Letters dated Jan. 18, 1949);[27] the abbatial church of St. Mary of Gethsemani, in the Archdiocese of Louisville, Kentucky (in virtue of Letters dated May 3, 1949);[28] the church called that of Bom Iesus, in Goa, of the Patriarchate of the East Indies (in virtue of Letters dated March 20, 1946);[29] and the cathedral church of the Diocese of Verdun (in virtue of Letters dated Sept. 8, 1947).[30]

Commemorative letters of our Holy Father were written in observance of the following events: the centenary of the death of Jaime Balmes (addressed to the Bishop of Vich under date of May 8, 1949);[31] the centenary of the extension to the whole Church of the observance of the Feast of the Precious Blood (addressed to the Moderator General of the Congregation of the Most Precious Blood under date of May 10, 1949);[32] the centenary of the establishment of the London Oratory (addressed to the Superior under date of May 26, 1949);[33] the tenth centenary of the death of St. Odo and the ninth centenary of the death of St. Odilo, both Abbots of Cluny (addressed to the Bishop of Autun under date of June 6, 1949);[34] the centenary of the foundation of the Congregation of the Missionary Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (addressed to the Moderator General of the Congregation under date of July 16, 1949);[35] and the tenth anniversary of the invasion of Poland (addressed to Polish Hierarchy under date of Sept. 1, 1949).[36] Our Holy Father also addressed a letter to His Eminence, Eugene Cardinal Tisserant, on the occasion of his appointment as Papal Legate to the National Eucharistic Congress of France held at Nancy; the date of this letter is June 6, 1949.[37] A similar letter, dated June 29, 1949[38] was addressed to His Eminence, Frederick Cardinal Tedeschini, Patron of the Sisters of the Visitation, in preparation for his journey to Annecy to preside there at the consecration of the Church of the

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 352.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 355.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 446.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 486.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 490.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 356.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 358.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 359.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 411.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 448.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 450.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 410.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 414.

Visitation erected in honor of St. Francis de Sales and of St. Jane Frances de Chantal.

During the months of June and July our Holy Father addressed three allocutions to representative of foreign powers at the Vatican. Under date of June 20, 1949,[39] he addressed an allocution to the Legate of the Dominican Republic; on July 6, 1949,[40] to the Legate of India; and under date of July 12, 1949,[41] to the Legate of Paraguay.

By an Apostolic Constitution of May 5, 1949,[42] a chapter of canons was established in the Cathedral of Leopoldina in Brazil.

The establishment of the Diocese of Joliet is authorized in an Apostolic Constitution dated Dec. 11, 1948.[43] Other territorial limitations were made through similar Apostolic Constitutions as follows: the establishment of the new Diocese of San Fernando in the Philippines through the separation of territory from the Archdiocese of Manila (under date of Dec. 11, 1948);[44] the establishment of the prelature *nullius* of Macapà in Brazil from territory taken from the prelature *nullius* of Santarem (under date of Feb. 1, 1949);[45] the establishment of a new Apostolic Prefecture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan under the name of Mopoia (under date of March 3, 1949);[46] the establishment of an Apostolic Prefecture in British West Africa under the name of Oyo (under date of March 3, 1949);[47] the establishment of a Diocese of Bellary in the East Indies, suffragan to the Metropolitan of Madras (under date of March 10, 1949);[48] the establishment of a Vicariate Apostolic of Wamba in the Belgian Congo (under date of March 10, 1949);[49] the elevation of the Apostolic Prefecture of Bandjermasin, in the Indonesian Archipelago, to the rank of a Vicariate Apostolic (under date of March 10, 1949);[50] and the establishment of a new Diocese of Ahmedabad from territory taken from the Archdiocese of Bombay (under date of May 5, 1949).[51] Decrees of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith were similarly concerned with the territory constituting the ecclesiastical subdivisions in missionary lands. A decree of this Sacred Congregation, dated

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 365.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 367.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 369.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 481.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 397.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 400.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 402.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 405.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 433.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 435.
[49] *Ibid.*, p. 437.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 439.
[51] *Ibid.*, p. 483.

March 10, 1949,[52] changed the name of the Vicariate Apostolic of Urubamba to that of "Portus Maldonadi"; a decree, dated March 3, 1949,[53] turns over to the native clergy the Diocese of Salem in the State of the Union of India; a decree, dated May 12, 1949,[54] does the same with regard to the Diocese of Poona, also in the State of the Union of India; a decree of March 10, 1949,[55] changes the name of the Vicariate Apostolic of Stanley Falls in the Belgian Congo to that of Stanleyopolis; a decree of March 10, 1949,[56] changes the name of the Vicariate Apostolic of Upper Kassai in the Belgian Congo to that of Luluaburg; and a decree of May 12, 1949,[57] changes the name of the Vicariate Apostolic of Dutch New Guinea to that of Amboina. The Sacred Consistorial acted on May 14, 1949,[58] to change the boundaries of the Dioceses of Tricarico and Anglona-Tursi. A decree of July 15, 1949,[59] of the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Church defined the northern boundaries of the Eparchy of Lycopolis of the Copts.

The Decretal Letters effecting the canonization of Blessed Catherine Labouré are published in the *Acta* issued Sept. 6, 1949;[60] the Letters themselves are dated July 27, 1947. In an allocution of June 14, 1949[61] our Holy Father addressed those who had assembled at Rome for the canonization of Blessed Mary Joseph Rosello and pointed to her marvelous charity, the source of her spirit of mercy, of her indomitable courage, and of her unique capacity for organization. Three decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites involved causes of beatification and canonization. One of these, dated Jan. 2, 1949,[62] authorized the introduction of the Cause of the Servant of God, Joseph Bedetti, a diocesan priest belonging to the Third Order of the Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary; another decree, dated Feb. 25, 1949,[63] authorized the resumption of the process for the canonization of the already beatified Chinese Franciscan Martyrs; and a third, dated Aug. 18, 1949,[64] passed favorably on the heroic practice of virtue by the Venerable Servant of God, Julian Maunoir, a priest of the Society of Jesus.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 429.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 464.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 512.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 465.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 466.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 467.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 428.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 463.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 385.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 360.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 469.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 472.
[64] *Ibid.*, p. 474.

The appointment of Most Rev. Patrick Byrne, M.M., D.D., as Apostolic Delegate to Korea is reported in the *Acta* of Sept. 29, 1949.[65] The appointment of Most Rev. Francesco G. Lardone, S.T.D., J.U.D., as Nuncio to Haiti and the Dominican Republic is reported in the *Acta* of Sept. 6, 1949.[66] In the same issue[67] there is reported the elevation of Most Rev. Joseph F. Rummel, D.D., Archbishop of New Orleans, to the rank of Assistant at the Pontifical Throne.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 468. [66] *Ibid.*, p. 431. [67] *Ibid.*, p. 432.

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### Opposition to the Truth About God

Like as in the old world the divine tradition of the knowledge of God was encompassed by corrupt and fragmentary religions, so the divine tradition of the faith is encompassed by fragmentary Christianities and fragmentary churches. The belief in the unity of God, before the Incarnation, was broken up into the polytheisms of Egypt, Greece, and Rome. Since the Incarnation this cannot be. The illumination of the Word made flesh renders impossible all polytheism and idolatry. The unity and the spirituality of the eternal God are now axioms of the human reason. But, as St. Augustine profoundly observes, the analogy still holds between the errors of the old creation and of the new. Satan, as he says, "can no longer divide the true God, nor bring in among us false gods, therefore he has sent strifes among Christians. Because he could not fabricate many gods, therefore he has multiplied sects, and sowed errors, and set up heresies."

—Cardinal Manning, in *The Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost* (New York, Sadlier, 1875), pp. 41 f.

# Book Reviews

THE WEAKNESS OF GOD. By Luke O'Donnell, O.S.B. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1949. Pp. 119. $1.75.

This small volume tells the story of the Passion of our Lord. It is the result of a series of seven Lenten sermons which were so well received that Fr. O'Donnell was requested to make the material of them available in book form.

The author is well aware that the story of the Passion has been told many times and in many different ways. It will continue to be retold because it is the central act of all human history. He feels, however, that anyone who attempts to retell it has room for "all the ingenuity and originality" he cares to indulge.

The selection of the title of the book is intriguing. God had a weakness for man, so much so, that he became man in the Person of Christ our Saviour to pay the price of our redemption. The story of this redemption as told by Fr. O'Donnell is based upon the scriptural account, but the narrative has been enriched by the addition of interesting facts of history and custom.

The work consists of seven chapters within which the Last Supper, the Agony in the Garden, the trial before the Sanhedrin, Pilate and Herod, the condemnation, the Way of the Cross, and the Crucifixion are skillfully treated. It should prove to be a serviceable book of mediations on the sacred Passion which is the hope and salvation of all Christians.

FRANCIS P. CASSIDY

LES RITES ET PRIERES DU SAINT SACRIFICE DE LA MESSE. By Chanoine Aug. Croegaert. Vols. II and III. 2nd ed. Malines: H. Dessain. 1948. Pp. xii + 406 and x + 474. Price: Vol. II, 130 *frs. belges,* unbound; 180 *frs. belges,* bound; Vol. III, 140 *frs. belges,* unbound; 190 *frs. belges,* bound.

In the February, 1949, issue of *AER* (p. 158) we published a review of the first volume of the late Canon Croegaert's book on the ceremonies and prayers of the Holy Sacrifice. That volume treated of the Mass from the beginning to the Creed, inclusive. The Mass of the Faithful furnishes the matter for the second and third volumes. More than half of the second volume is devoted to preliminary studies of the sacrificial character of the Mass and an extensive consideration of the much-discussed active participation of the faithful in the eucharistic oblation. The remainder of that volume is occupied with the Mass of the Faithful up to the end of the Secret. The final volume is concerned

with the Canon of the Mass, the Communion section, and the final thanksgiving service.

The author conforms closely to the ideas expressed in the *Mediator Dei* of the reigning Pontiff in his consideration of the question as to the real meaning of the position of the faithful as offerers and victims of the Holy Sacrifice. The book makes it clear that the congregation is not mere audience in attendance at Mass; as members of the Mystical Body of which Christ is the head they offer the Divine Victim, although in a different sense from that in which the celebrating priest does so and subordinately to the ministers, major and minor, who officiate in the sacred liturgy. Similarly, the faithful are victims along with Jesus Christ, sacramentally immolated on the altar, because of their status in the Mystical Body. Emphasis, perhaps too strongly, is placed on the role of the stipend presented for the celebration of Mass. Canon Croegaert claims that it is, in no sense, to be considered as an offering for the support of the priest, in exchange for services rendered, but a monetary substitute for the gift of bread and wine, actually presented in former times as the matter for the sacrifice. Consequently, the giver of the stipend has a distinctive place as an offerer of the Mass and a distinctive share as a host along with the Divine Victim.

The author takes a sane view of the active participation of the laity in the matter of the dialogue Mass. The degree of this participation is well within the provisions of existing liturgical laws and, in conformity with the decision of the Sacred Congregation (Aug. 4, 1922), dependent upon the judgment of the Ordinary. In addition to making the responses ordinarily made by the server, the congregation may well recite at Low Mass what it is proper for them to sing at High Mass but there is to be no recitation aloud of parts of the Mass which the priest himself must say inaudibly nor any concerted declamation with the celebrant of the *Pater noster* or of prayers, such as the collects and post-communions. The *Ritus servandus,* in the fore part of the Missal, makes provision for at least certain responses by the congregation at Low Mass and, in several instances, gives the option of answering either to the server or to those present. The author points out that the minister of Low Mass makes the responses, not in virtue of his order of acolyte but as a representative of the congregation in whose name he speaks, which is quite in accord with the idea of St. Thomas Aquinas (cf. *Sum. theol.* III, q. 83, a. 5). The questions of the participation of female singers at High Mass and of the use of the vernacular receive attention. The latter is solved according to the regulations of the author's diocese of Malines and is limited to the reading aloud of the Epistle and Gospel, simultaneously with their reading by the celebrant, pro-

vided the lector is not a woman, even a religious, nor the congregation reading in concert.

The third volume is devoted to the Canon of the Mass, the Communion service and the concluding prayers and ceremonies of the Holy Sacrifice. As an introduction, there is a summary consideration of primitive liturgical documents, especially the *Didache,* St. Justin's Apology, the *Traditio apostolica* (unreservedly assigned to St. Hippolytus), and Apostolic Constitutions, Book VIII. The Preface and the *Sanctus,* the Canon and the Pater noster all very properly receive interesting and satisfactory treatment. To note one detail, that concerning the conduct of the congregation at the moment of consecration and elevation, the author subscribes to the now more general practice of bowing profoundly at the genuflections of the priest before and after each elevation, raising the head to look adoringly at the Host and the Chalice as each is lifted up. He prefers the *minute de silence* at this solemn moment of the Mass, though the organ may play *graviori et dulciori sono,* in accordance with the direction of the *Caeremoniale episcoporum* (I, xxviii, 9). He has no doubt as to the identity of St. John the Baptist with the *Joannes* of the *Nobis quoque.* Croegaert sees no resemblance other than a purely material and very fragmentary one between the third prayer after consecration, *Supplices te rogamus,* and an Epiclesis. He finds much more of an Epiclesis, though a preconsecratory one, in the *Quam oblationem.*

To volumes two and three, we must apply the same commendatory remarks which we made concerning volume one, with relation to documentation, bibliography, and comprehensive presentation of the matters treated. The illustrations continue good reproductions of more or less familiar prints with the addition of photographs of historic sacred vessels. A satisfactory index, supplementing the analytic tables of contents, gives a final touch of utility for the convenience of consultors of the book.

WILLIAM J. LALLOU

HENRY THE EIGHTH. By Theodore Maynard. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1949. Pp. viii + 431, with bibliography and index. $3.75.

Probably most readers of Theodore Maynard's *Humanist As Hero, The Life of Sir Thomas More* (New York: Macmillan, 1947) expected, and hoped that he would turn to Henry VIII. The lives of the King and his Chancellor were too intertwined to be left separated by this brilliant biographer. Unlike More, Henry was scarcely a representative of sanctity. However, as a study in human perversity, he has his

own claim to interest. The golden-haired, eighteen-year-old man who ascended England's throne in 1509 was handsome, hearty, affable, and beloved by his subjects almost to the point of adoration. His metamorphosis into a "mass of obese putrefaction," the vindictive and savage despot of Church and State in 1547, was neither sudden nor simple. Maynard's provocative study of Henry Tudor reveals the complexities of this tragic change.

Comparing the work on More with *Henry the Eighth* some may prefer *Humanist As Hero.* Undoubtedly it is a more pleasant book. But in Maynard's behalf, it should be remarked that More was a much less difficult subject. Though among the most brilliant statesman of his time, Sir Thomas More was incomplex, a man whose motivations were clear and consistent and who managed, not without humor, to integrate his life into a perfectly Catholic pattern. Henry, on the contrary, is tantalizing and illusive. A self-deluded, ruthless egotist, he rectified conscience with principle indeed, but found that his moral and religious convictions invariably approved whatever he wanted to do. Yet in spite of its slippery subject and the vastness and complexity of the material, *Henry the Eighth* profits from the same strong writings as the work about More. There is the same forthrightness of expression, the same evidence of painstaking and broad research, free of pedantry and unscholarly prejudice. Maynard is sympathetic in the sense that he strenuously, sometimes ingeniously, tries to give an intelligent account of the fearful mixture of unreason and contradictions which was Henry.

Some readers are going to think Maynard too lenient in dealing with Henry VIII; but before condemning the author they should determine whether they are following facts or prejudice. Even villains, when judged fairly, cannot be dismissed with a gesture of disgust. On the basis of the research and the judicious marshalling and weighing of evidence which characterize the book, I think it will have to be admitted that the author is just. There were drives in Henry which proved disastrous, yet it is a caricature and no portrait to high-light only his viciousness. In truth, says Maynard (p. 396), Henry "was a very versatile man who, in other circumstances, in which he would not have scattered all his talents, might have proved himself remarkable in any one of a dozen different departments."

*Henry the Eighth* makes no claim for originality of research. Its contribution and great merit lie in presenting with charm and clarity a new and sensitively balanced interpretation of England's most controversial king.

Maynard disagrees sharply with those who, like Froude, represent Henry VIII's revolt against the papacy as following the lead of the

English people. On the contrary, the author asserts, the people were generally sound—though soft and slack. Certainly not perfect Catholics, nevertheless they were Catholics and wanted to be nothing else. They did not carry Henry into rebellion. The separation was his doing. Of course he had abettors, but they did not reflect popular sentiment. Quite the reverse. The English people, Maynard avers, tended to curb the King's impetous and ferocious excesses. Fear of losing their good will made Henry go more slowly than he otherwise would have done. The people had to be tricked into accepting the repudiation of Katherine and other unpopular moves. They were made to believe that such developments were not the work of their beloved King but of his advisers. One of Henry's most singular accomplishments was that, in spite of everything, he managed to keep his people's love and reverence. They held him blameless on the principle that the king can do no wrong. To the very end Henry was generally looked upon as a good man—misled!

Orthodoxy was the chief nutriment of Henry's egotism. Bitterly antipapal as he was, Henry boasted of his Catholicism. Even at his worst he never denied it. During his whole life his devotion to the Real Presence never faltered, and he went to Mass daily and to Holy Communion frequently. He wanted the world to know that he could stand alone and be a better custodian of the Faith in England than any Pope or bishop. Orthodoxy was the essential dogma of Henry's religion, which may be called Henricianism. Its crucial test was undeviating submission to the Crown—than which obviously nothing could be more orthodox! By word and deed, by the Ten Articles and the Six Articles, by the Bishops Book, by his persecution and burning of heretics, by his refusal to comprise with Lutheranism, Henry proclaimed his orthodoxy.

Yet in showing himself orthodox according to his own definition, how little Henry actually lived his religion. While priding himself on his personal orthodoxy, he cared little about orthodoxy as such. This is Maynard's amply justified verdict. Even when Henry was most loudly defending the Faith, he was moving away from it, destroying it and shutting his eyes to Cramner's thinly veiled heresy. The sycophant of Canterbury gave Henry obsequious lip-service; so by the King's test Cranmer's orthodoxy was as unquestionable as his loyalty.

*Henry the Eighth* is the sort of book to set off controversies. But most will agree that no character emerges an out-and-out devil. Even scoundrels like Cranmer and Cromwell benefit from the author's cool analysis. These men and their satellites must be held responsible for an unenviable list of crimes. However, they did not begin as criminals, nor at their worst were they savages. "Like Anne Boleyn," Maynard writes in a passage which may be taken to illustrate his attitude, "he

[Cromwell] died unlamented, but he was not a man wantonly cruel, and his private morals had (at least from the time that he appears in history) been exemplary. Something may be accorded to him on this score, but he was greedy and corrupt and nobody had ever applied more ruthlessly the Machiavellian maxims. Though not a man of genius, but rather a perfect example of the difference between the efficient man and the inspired man, his work remained. He had created the Henrician Church and therefore had laid the foundations of the Protestant Church of England as by law established" (p. 361).

Maynard's Henry VIII appears not so much a sensual man as the world's most monstrous egotist, at once cunning and gullible, intelligent and slightly befuddled. He was a champion of orthodoxy with actually no regard for it and a religious zealot of most irreligious zeal. He may have been in good faith, but his faith was a curious mixture of ambition and opportunism and a superstitious conviction of being God's favorite. He was a king whose policies at home and abroad fizzled out at frightful expense, whose ambition and extravagance drained the treasury, whose friendship was as fatal as a cobra's kiss and whose special brand of Catholicism carried England into Protestantism. Even so and whatever be one's estimate of him, Cardinal Pole's statement about Henry ought to be remembered, that the greatest enemy he had in the world was the King whom he loved above all other men and considered the greatest king England had ever had. And this was the King, let it not be forgotten, who executed the Cardinal's brother and caused his seventy-year-old mother's head to be struck off.

JOSEPH B. MCALLISTER

HANDBOOK FOR FORTY HOURS' ADORATION. By Rev. Dominic J. Unger, O.F.M. Cap. Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1949. Pp. 70. $3.00.

Certain manuals, of a practical character, in the field of theology, or its neighboring territory, are advertised as adapted to the needs of the busy pastor. So, we have handy volumes, giving a compendious survey of moral theology or canon law, of liturgy or pastoral medicine, appealing to the priest in the active service of the mission, who must find the information which he seeks in easily available form. Fr. Dominic's little volume will take its place among these works of ready consultation. The regulations governing the conduct of the Forty Hours form the subject of considerable discussion as every year this popular devotion is observed in the parish churches of the country. It is most convenient to have the legislation concerning the Forty Hours' Adoration succinctly presented in orderly fashion in a single volume, obviating the trouble